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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2189

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23 August 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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CHNOUPEK OUTLINES WARSAW PACT 'PEACE OFFENSIVE'

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 6, May 83 pp 88-98

[Article by Engr Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of CPCZ Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs CSSR]

[Text] Our era is without a doubt a period of unprecedented revolutionary changes that were predicted with scientific providence by Marx, Engels and Lenin. The most important among them is the birth and solidification of the world's socialist system which objectively became the decisive factor of social progress. The key objective of the coordinated foreign policy of socialist countries was and is securing lasting peace. The nations of fraternal countries which actively build a new society have literally vital interest in accomplishing this task of tasks--doing away with the threat of nuclear war, maintenance and continued rejuvenation of the process for alleviating international tensions, disarmament. Namely, that is the only way to create conditions conducive to peaceful efforts, to implement the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in practice in their entire width and richness.

"Disarmament is the ideal of socialism," wrote V.I. Lenin. "In a socialist society there will be no wars and, consequently, disarmament will become an accomplished fact."¹ For that reason the foreign policy course of socialist countries allied in the Warsaw Pact is fully oriented toward accomplishment of two key goals--socialism and peace. That is why such a formulation applies also to the basic programs for peace promulgated by the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congress which became an organic part of the international policy of fraternal communist and workers' parties, to include our CPCZ. Thus, the strength of the socialist foreign policy, particularly that of the Soviet Union, always was and is oriented so as to pervade all efforts of their countries by care for human progress and responsibility for the fate of future generations. It is for this reason that they also serve as an example to all nations of the world by their uncompromising, assiduous and persistent struggle against imperialist concepts of "cold" and "hot" war.

The current period, crammed with complex international events and marked by an overall deteriorating situation, once again clearly manifests the two antithetical tendencies inherent to the world of socialism and the world of capitalism. While socialist countries systematically and fervently strive

for averting nuclear war, for continuation and strengthening of peaceful cooperation of countries with a different social system on an equal footing, the most reactionary circles in the U.S. and NATO are stepping up even more the militarization of life in their countries, to include preparations for war which should enter the annals of future history as "World War III," or even "Space War."

Thus, even today are highly topical and fully correct the words of V.I. Lenin which hold that "struggle for peace will be difficult and arduous. International imperialism mobilizes all forces against us."² This is borne out by the fact that several times aggressive imperialist circles have tried to mobilize against socialism "military levers" of many types and with a maximum of manpower on all continents. However, they failed in their efforts in the past when the USSR was the only socialist country in the world. They will fail moreso today, when next to the powerful country of the Soviets there exists a community of fraternal socialist countries, buttressed by uniformity of action and organization on the basis of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA. Countries with adequate strength to vehemently repel any attack by imperialism. Efforts to bet on coercion and threats have thus become utterly illusory. Nevertheless, the Leninist precept regarding mobilization of all forces of imperialism against socialism and the need for the highest degree of vigilance constantly remains the center of attention of socialist countries.

The constant and, particularly, successful strengthening of the unity and cohesion, coordination and operational readiness of Warsaw Pact countries is becoming now, in a worsened international atmosphere, the most convincing proof of their tremendous potential and of the correctness of the policy of Marxist-Leninist parties. At the same time a whole series of facts unequivocally points out that VS [Warsaw Pact] member countries are tirelessly striving to overcome the dangerous situation in international life and to develop all measures of the seventies that make a salutary contribution to improving relations among countries and strengthening of the foundations of peace. The most important among them--as emphasized by the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, Y.V. Andropov, in response to questions by American journalist J. Kingsbury Smith--"is, of course, to achieve just, mutually acceptable principles of equality and equal safety in relevant agreements attendant to negotiations regarding lowering the limit on strategic arms and medium-range nuclear arms in Europe and to take practical steps toward their implementation."³

This year's January Prague session of the political consultative council of Warsaw Pact countries became quite unequivocally a demonstration of the deep and sincere interest of socialism in the cause of peace. It can be said--especially in view of the fact that today there is already half a year time lapse--that it involved the most important international political event of the present which positively affects the present as well as the near future. It did not disappoint in the least the hopes always connected with the proceedings of the political consultative council by all peace-loving and realistically thinking people of our planet. In an extensive political declaration it submitted an integrated, deep and balanced analysis of the current international situation and with it an answer to the question as to

how to improve the present dangerously developing international relations and adverse climate as expediently as possible. Its central initiative became the proposal of the Pact Regarding Non-Resorting to the Use of Military Strength and Preservation of Peaceful Relations Among Warsaw Pact and NATO Countries.

Warsaw Pact member countries, as proclaimed from the reviewing stand at the occasion of celebration of the 35th anniversary of Victorious February by general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, President of the republic Gustav Husak, "once again convincingly proved their honest effort to solve unresolved problems and to adopt effective measures to preclude a new dangerous round of an arms drive. They unequivocally proclaimed at the same time that the efforts of the United States and of NATO to achieve unilateral advantages and interfere with the existing balance of forces in the world have no chance of success."⁴

This April, i.e., 3 months since the Prague session of the political consultative council, on the latter's authorization there once again met in our capital the council of foreign ministers. The session of this experimentally already verified instrument for institutionalization of a coordinated policy of Warsaw Pact dealt with and assessed the response and attitudes encountered by the comprehensive set of significant peace promoting proposals formulated in the political declaration. Even though the ministers of foreign affairs were forced to state that due to the fault of the most reactionary forces of imperialism, particularly American, the international situation continues to remain complex and strained, they were at the same time able to proclaim with full responsibility that in no case is it hopeless. And also that it is specifically the Prague declaration of the political consultative council of Warsaw Pact countries that points out the way toward successful overcoming of the accumulated problems and dangers.

From among all their initiatives, special importance accrues quite unequivocally to the proposed Pact Regarding Mutual Non-Resorting to the Use of Force and Preservation of Peaceful Relations Between Warsaw Pact Member Countries and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Its concluding would definitely have beneficial effects both on the situation in Europe and all over the world in general, because the Warsaw Pact and NATO are the two largest, strongest and directly mutually confronting military blocks. This would not involve any duplication of the UN Charter or the Helsinki Agreement, or generation of some kind of smoke screen to mask the increasing threat of war and a false feeling of security, as some are probably trying to allege in the West. Namely, this proposal carries matters substantially farther, because:

--It specifies and develops the generally formulated obligation to refrain from the use of force, stipulated by the UN Charter which not only does not exclude, but actually envisions international legal development and personification of this principle in specific treaty documentations.

--It envisions not only implementation of the principle of refraining from the use of force as such, but also an obligation to preserve viable peaceful

relations, their active maintenance as well as their well thought out development and deepening on the basis of mutual interest.

--It calls for clear adoption of a maximally specified obligation not to use against each other neither nuclear nor conventional weapons in a first strike and, in so doing, it is actually accommodating some proposals of the West.

--It applies not only to the territory of all participating countries, but also to their military and civilian personnel, ships, aircraft, spaceships and other objects belonging to them, no matter where they are located, and also to international communications.

--It envisions implementing the obligation regarding refraining from the use of force also in the direction of having member countries of both blocks adopt a similar obligation toward third countries, be it those with which they already have bilateral alliance pacts, or be it nonparticipating or neutral countries.

--It takes into consideration the actual specifics of the current state of international relations and the special position of individual countries, whereby it does not concentrate only on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact, but offers the right and opportunity also to all nonparticipating and neutral countries from Europe and other continents to join it.

--It envisions connecting the obligations stemming from this pact with the provisions for reinforcing the United Nations Organization as a worldwide instrument of collective security.

--Its signing would not terminate the efforts of nations toward eradication of the threat of war but, conversely, it would represent a forceful appeal to all the signatories to actively participate in its implementation, to engage in the process of alleviating confrontation.

It was stated with satisfaction on the occasion of the session of the council of ministers of foreign affairs that the peace initiatives contained in the political declaration, specifically the proposal for concluding the mentioned pact, met with unusual interest, understanding and support of the international workers and national liberation movements, of the most varied strata of the progressively inclined public, of the antiwar movement and of representatives of many countries of the world. They all consider the Prague declaration to be a wide and yet a very specific concept of the struggle to save mankind from the threat of a nuclear conflict.

As regards the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization--and they were the ones primarily addressed by the political declaration of the political consultative council--it became fully evident that this document provoked through its specificity, constructiveness and sobriety a considerable crystallization of opinions among them. A role was obviously played herein also by apprehensions of running the risk of losing prestige with their own public.

What are the specific findings obtained from the response to the Prague political declaration? A competent answer to this question can be provided specifically by Czechoslovak diplomacy, because with authorization of Warsaw Pact member countries it was Czechoslovakia who informed all countries participating in the Helsinki conference and other UN member countries--a total of 134 countries--about the results of the Prague meeting and handed over to them at the same time the political declaration and the initiative contained in it, the mentioned pact proposal. The declaration also became an official document of the UN. It involved a significant task unprecedented in its scope and extremely demanding. It involved one of the greatest diplomatic campaigns ever designed for development of the East-West political dialogue about basic questions of war and peace and wide international cooperation of countries with differing social systems and the process of circulating it among political circles of Western countries and in public.

From the many contacts and consultations undertaken in this direction by our foreign service it clearly follows that many Western statesmen and politicians could not just silently ignore specifically the constructive nature of the declaration. Furthermore, it was the fact that it came "at the right time." Many representatives, particularly from neutral countries, proclaimed in this context that many of the proposals underlined in an "imposing manner" the efforts of socialist countries toward alleviation of tensions and toward mutual trust. At the same time, the more soberly thinking political functionaries in NATO countries, particularly from among influential circles of the opposition, openly voiced their opinion that the constructive and initiative approach of Warsaw Pact countries calls for an answer, whereby many of them openly stated that it would be unfortunate if proposals of such significance were to remain only on paper. An assessment of the Prague political declaration could not be avoided at this time even by representatives of the key countries of the North Atlantic alliance. Even though they naturally try to play down its significance, they did not reject it and in public they commented in general in the sense that it "brings up some new moments."

It certainly is not without interest that, e.g., the FRG minister of foreign affairs, H.D. Genscher, welcomed at the occasion of his February visit to Czechoslovakia "the willingness for dialogue and cooperation expressed by the Warsaw Pact in its Prague declaration of 6 January 1983." He also expressed satisfaction over the fact that a FRG plenipotentiary could visit Moscow and negotiate about the disarmament complex which is the subject of the political declaration. And he offered that this plenipotentiary also negotiate in Czechoslovakia as the host country of the PPV [political consultative council] and of the council of ministers. Minister Genscher motivated his attitude by his interest--as he stated literally--"to make the wheels move."

A positive attitude toward the declaration was taken by countries such as Finland, Sweden and Austria. From Vienna, e.g., came an offer for eventual mediation of negotiations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. As certainly encouraging also can be considered the fact that many nonparticipating countries emphasized that the principles which form the basis for the individuals proposals contained in the political declaration are principles to

which they themselves subscribe. Disarmament and cutbacks in military budgets would in their opinions and hopes release not only substantial amounts of finances, but also modern technology as an effective tool for overcoming the material differences between advanced and underdeveloped countries. Thus, the declaration started to be justifiably termed a document of great importance in which were discovered positive features and new ideas. It entered wide strata of the public conscience as a proof of the viability and irreplaceability of an intensive dialogue between East and West.

What counts now is that the words of Western politicians be also followed by deeds. The council of ministers took under cognizance the intention of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries to study the proposal for a Pact of Mutual Non-Resorting to the Use of Force and Preservation of Peaceful Relations between Warsaw Pact and NATO countries. At the same time it called on representatives of the Western alliance to take a more constructive attitude toward its concluding and to weigh also the new possibilities for examining the problems attendant to its concluding. Warsaw Pact countries showed in this respect maximum understanding for the needs and interests of all other countries when they unequivocally affirmed at the Prague meeting of the council of ministers of foreign affairs their willingness and readiness to provide all-around assistance in such examinations of their proposal. The Ministers offered with absolute clarity and openly to the West a creative exchange of opinions regarding the various aspects of the proposed pact, with any and all interested countries. They explained that this concerns primarily such problems represented by the contents and scope of possible obligations under the pact, their mutual relations to the obligations incurred under the UNO Charter and the Helsinki Agreement, in keeping with additional bilateral treaties and agreements.

The Prague meeting of the council of ministers of foreign affairs also expressed itself in favor of cooperation in implementing compliance with the obligations incurred under the pact. Thus it once again and with complete unambiguity confirmed the willingness and readiness of socialist countries to seriously negotiate about disarmament measures and conclude relevant agreements, to include control measures. Control of some agreement can be done adequately by merely national means and resources, for others it would be indispensable to initiate relevant international procedures. The point is that control measures cannot be selfserving, but must correspond to the objectives, scope and orientation of the specific agreement. Proceeding abstractly in matters of control without actual disarmament, as often advanced by Western countries, has no logic to it. Some of the adopted agreements already also contain effective control measures, to include international procedures and inspection in loco. And the fact that they function reliably and are proving themselves can be verified very easily. Let it suffice to cite the example of the Treaty of Nonproliferation of Nuclear Arms. On the basis of the adopted control measures Czechoslovakia is visited every year by inspectors of the International Agency for Atomic Energy to control our nuclear installations to make sure that they are not used for military purposes.

The ministers of foreign affairs also gave expression to a very important proposal which could serve to make efforts connected with the pact more

effective and intensify them: they proposed to continue bilateral contacts with NATO and other countries with the proviso that it also would be possible to examine the relevant problems also through multilateral discussions. Namely in such a manner, as to make the level and forms of such multilateral discussions acceptable to all.

In regard to the most important problem as is represented by limitation of nuclear arms in Europe, the council of ministers confirmed that Warsaw Pact countries do strive for absence of any nuclear weapons on our continent. Not even medium range, not even tactical. And for achieving a giant step in this direction through a radical reduction in nuclear medium range systems on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. It is specifically this objective which is the aim of Soviet proposals presented on 21 December of last year by Comrade Yuriy Andropov. All these problems must be dealt with in such a manner, and this was particularly pointed out by the council of ministers, to prevent deployment of new American medium range missiles and to preserve the military strategic balance at constantly decreasing levels.

Yes, to the principles of equality and equal security there can be no other alternative, no "quasi-solution" advanced by Washington. Comrade Yuriy Andropov clearly formulated this fact in an interview for the periodical DER SPIEGEL when he said: "Reagan's administration responds to our clear and just proposals with a 'zero' option one minute and a 'temporarily zero' option at another minute. Both are not realistic and do not contribute in any way to the success of negotiations. Why? Because they want to disarm us, but given even more armaments to NATO. That we will not accept."⁵

The proposal of the political consultative council regarding elimination of chemical warfare weapons from the European continent also found considerable worldwide interest. While this problem has already been dealt with for a long time in the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, thanks to the less than constructive approach by Western delegations it regretfully met with no success for the time being. That is why the ministers of foreign affairs of Warsaw Pact countries expressed the opinion that it certainly could do no harm to the matter if steps were taken in parallel with Geneva that would be directed toward a ban on and liquidation of chemical warfare weapons within the European continent. Socialist countries are ready to open working contacts with interested countries and assess together with them the potential for implementation of even gradual steps and measures that would lead to attainment of that goal. In the beginning it might be possible to restrict these efforts to only a certain part of our continent, let us say the Central European region, and later, if the efforts to eliminate chemical warfare weapons prove successful, extend them to other parts.

The ministers of foreign affairs also emphasized the readiness of Warsaw Pact countries to achieve an accelerated agreement at the Vienna negotiations regarding reduction in the numbers of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. In the political declaration adopted at the January meetings of PPV and VS it is stated that "there exists all prerequisites for the Vienna negotiations to come up with an agreement in the shortest possible time, in the course of 1 to 2 years at the very most."⁶ Toward attainment of this

objective, in the interest of overcoming the deadlock in negotiations and in an effort to find a solution which would make it possible to expediently reach an agreement in regard to the remaining points of contention and lead thus the Vienna negotiations from the blind alley in which they wound up through the less than constructive approach of Western delegations, socialist countries submitted on 17 February a significant proposal which represents an elaboration of the initiatives proclaimed in the Prague declaration. Its adoption would, without endangering the security of either side, resolve the unproductive and many-year-old contention that leads nowhere, involving the so-called numerical barrier--namely, who has or does not have more troops.

Also assessed at the Prague meeting of the council of ministers of foreign affairs was the important problem of establishing zones free of nuclear arms in various European regions, particularly those where the concentration of armed forces and of armaments is especially great--in Central Europe. But also in the north of Europe and on the Balkan peninsula. The interest of European countries in proposals regarding establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons is increasing as is evidenced by the relevant negotiations among interested parties.

As regards the Madrid meeting, the ministers of foreign affairs emphasized that specifically at its present stage all efforts must be directed toward an accelerated negotiation of a meaningful and balanced final document to include the problem of convoking a conference on measures toward reinforcing trust and safety and disarmament in Europe. In this context they exchanged opinions in regard to the renewed proposal for a final document, submitted by neutral and by nonparticipating countries on 15 March 1983, which in spite of some reservations which it contains represents in essence the basis for a possible agreement.

In dealing with all topics the ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact countries formulated in the name of their governments clear and specific proposals leading to resolution of both old as well as newly arising problems. They emphasized that in spite of the complexity of problems arising among countries it is inadmissible to let conflicts of ideas turn into a confrontation between countries, but that it is desirable to maintain and keep developing a political dialogue between countries at all levels. "In the light of the current situation, the countries represented at the meeting hold that it is the duty of all countries to provide all possible help toward putting a halt to the current dangerous development of events, to return to the policy of relaxation and mutually beneficial cooperation, to solve the urgent tasks of limiting and reducing armaments, particularly nuclear, and to provide for peaceful settlement of conflicting situations," says the concluding communique of the Prague meeting of the council of ministers.⁷

The current complicated international situation calls for a more frequent and a more operative exchange of opinions within the framework of the Warsaw Pact as well as a closer interlinkage of their organizational structures with the goal of constantly improving the operational mechanism of our alliance organization. This also fully applies to the council of ministers of foreign affairs. For that reason it was determined not only to hold its next meeting in the Bulgarian capital of Sofia, but also to set a definite term for this meeting.

The wide and lively response which met and are meeting the results of the meeting of the political consultative council throughout Europe and throughout the world eloquently document that the peace offensive of socialist countries is not an expression of just some seasonal, speculative and short-term tactics, but an unequivocal confirmation of the basic, open and long-term strategy serving the interests of all nations. That also has a stimulative effect for additional growth of the mass peace, antiwar movement of millions of people. In its womb is now being activated a totally unusual antimissile coalition which has no precedent. Its objectives unify groups, organizations and even whole countries which widely differ as to their social and political composition. From their ranks are heard with increasing frequency the voices of prominent scientists, leading artists and former generals, representatives of churches and realistically thinking politicians. They all call for undertaking a serious assessment of the proposal made by socialist countries. That the United States assume an attitude that would facilitate realistic, serious negotiations.

The most important antiwar actions will take place by the end of June, again in our capital, where there will meet antiwar activists from all over the world at the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, which will become the most widely based meeting of the forces of peace in recent times and, at the same time, an affirmation of the fact that the antiwar and antinuclear movement represents the most widely based democratic movement of the present. To it fully apply the words of CPCZ Central Committee's secretary Vasil Bilak that "today, when a threat is posed to the very existence of mankind, efforts at unification assume a new quality. We could characterize it as an appeal to the populace of the whole Earth: Men of good will, unite to save human civilization."⁸

An objective assessment of the relative potentials of antagonistic forces on the international stage yields the unequivocal conclusion that there exists a realistic possibility to prevent unleashing of a third world war, enhance the process of relaxation of tensions and expand it also to the military sphere. Czechoslovak foreign policy is also fully oriented toward this objective. In the spirit of the policy line promulgated by the 16th CPCZ Congress and in the spirit of a coordinated approach with the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries, Czechoslovakia promotes always and everywhere relaxation of tensions, putting a stop to the feverish arms race, embarking on a path toward general disarmament and developing international cooperation.

Czechoslovakia is doing everything in its power to make its foreign policy increasingly more dynamic, constructive and effective. Its basis will continue to be constant strengthening of friendship, alliance and developing and deepening of overall cooperation with the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries. After all, it is only thanks to the CSSR's being a strong and inseparable component of the socialist community that its international position could grow and become solidified as significantly as it did. The importance of this alliance is receiving particular confirmation under the current international situation, where for Czechs and Slovaks it represents the most reliable guaranty of peaceful life now and in the future.

We shall continue to devote considerable attention in our foreign policy to the just struggle of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which liberated themselves from colonialist oppression, against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. Thus, we welcomed with great sympathy the results of the 7th Conference of the Movement of Non-Allied Countries at the highest level which once again emphasized the basic principles of this movement. With an absolute majority of these countries we are maintaining and developing relations based on the principles of equality, mutual respect and noninterference in internal affairs. We are helping them in the economic sphere to overcome the negative consequences of their underdevelopment, as is evidenced by some 150 concluded intergovernmental agreements about economic, scientific and technological cooperation. Understandably, most developed are our relations with countries with which we are linked not only by traditional friendship and cooperation, but these that, the same as we, are interested in independent and progressive development in the world and that in their inner life embarked upon the path of building the foundations of socialism.

Constructive political and economic contacts and mutually advantageous cooperation is developed by Czechoslovakia on the basis of mutual benefit and noninterference in internal affairs also with the majority of capitalist countries. Czechoslovak foreign policy is based on a realistic perception of the current world and is actively attempting to apply in practical life the conclusions of the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe. Thus, it welcomes any impetus provided by any country toward making the process of relaxation of tensions even more viable. The CSSR is indubitably achieving positive results in mutual relations with almost all the countries signatory to the Concluding Act, even though with some fluctuations and persisting problems which, however, are not its fault. The dominant theme of this development is the positive balance in relations of Czechoslovakia to its immediate Western neighbors--the FRG and Austria--which represent a productive proof of the viability and correctness of peaceful coexistence of countries with a differing social system.

Our republic is contributing on many international fora with its specific contribution to the struggle of the forces of progress with the forces of militarism and reaction. This is borne out, e.g., by adoption of our proposed resolution at last year's session of the General Assembly of the UN, the tenor of which was to further develop and update from the viewpoint of new factors in international situation and needs of its improvement the concepts of the Declaration Regarding International Cooperation Toward Achieving the Objectives of Disarmament, which was also adopted at our initiative by the General Assembly of the UN in 1979. On the basis of all the positive experience made in working on the proposal of this resolution, we shall continue to orient our efforts toward increasing active participation of the CSSR in promoting the peace proposals of fraternal socialist countries in international organizations. And this applies particularly to those proposals that originated at the Prague meeting of the political consultative council of the Warsaw Pact and of its council of ministers of foreign affairs.

There exists no other reasonable alternative but that which was promulgated in the concluding documents of the recent meetings of Warsaw Pact member countries. Confrontation and its culmination in a thermonuclear war namely is not and cannot be an alternative. The future of Europe and with it that of the entire world depends on peaceful cooperation. Eight years ago the conference in Helsinki showed that it is possible and necessary to seek and find mutual understanding. The ideas of Helsinki continue to remain an important factor of peace, because the agreement meets the objective needs of Europe and contain a potential for further promotion of security and cooperation on our continent that is far from having been exhausted.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V.I. Spisy Sv. [vol ?] 23, Prague SNPL 1957, p 98.
2. Lenin, V.I. Spisy Sv. [vol ?] 26, Prague SNPL 1956, p 306.
3. Y.U. Andropov in answer to questions by U.S. journalist J. Kingsbury-Smith, RUDE PRAVO 31 Dec 1982.
4. G. Husak in speech at 35th anniversary of Victorious February. RUDE PRAVO, 25 Feb 1983.
5. Comments by Y. Andropov in West German periodical DER SPIEGEL. RUDE PRAVO, 25 Apr 1983.
6. Political declaration by Warsaw Pact countries. Prague SVOBODA, 1983, p 18.
7. Communique of council of ministers of Warsaw Pact countries. RUDE PRAVO 7 Apr 1983.
8. Balik, V. Speech to International Conference...Karl Marx in Berlin, RUDE PRAVO, 19 Apr 1983.

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CSO: 2400/352

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

OFFICIALS AT POLISH RECEPTION--Bucharest AGERPRES 22/7/1983--On the 39th anniversary of the Polish National Day, the Bucharest ambassador of that country, Boleslaw Koperski, gave a reception on July 22. Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Gheorghe Petrescu, first deputy prime minister, and other personalities participated.
[Text] [AU221827 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1737 GMT 22 Jul 83]

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'TONE' OF ALIA, HOXHA SPEECHES CONTRASTED

Frankfurt-Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 20 Jul 83 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "A New Tone in Albania--Enver Hoxha Slowly Receding Into the Background"]

[Text] Vienna, July, 1983--Ramiz Alia, 58, Secretary of the Central Committee and formal head of the state since November of 1982, is emerging as the leading figure in Albania. He comes from the country's North and was Secretary for Ideology for years. In the late sixties, he also played a role in the violent oppression of freedom of religion; it is known, however, that he took a stand against the violation of cultural values at the same time. It is not the 75-year-old Enver Hoxha, but Alia who now gives the important speeches on politics and economics.

It is obvious that Alia generally uses a more rational language than Hoxha. In contrast to the latter, for instance, he does not call the politicians of Kosovo, Yugoslavia, "Serbian dogs" or similar names. It was in April that Ramiz Alia attracted attention with a rather pragmatic speech on economics, in which he mentioned Albania's gap in technology and the necessity of export promotion.

Minister President Carcani is considered to be the leader implementing the economic policies. He is also regarded as moderate and pragmatic. This economic pragmatism should include the resumption, to a limited degree, of economic ties with China. According to observers, who are unanimous in their observation, it will in all probability not be a matter of returning to the relationship between the two countries that existed before 1975, when a major portion of Albania's foreign trade was conducted with Peking. It does appear, however, that China is again supplying spare parts for the plants delivered earlier and is providing support in completing projects which were left unfinished. The Chinese also point out that Peking is not interested in returning to the former relationship.

The tone of the new leadership, which deviates from Hoxha's tirades of wrath, became evident in late June as well when Ramiz Alia presented Albania's attitude towards Yugoslavia in Bajram Curri at the eastern border of Albania. After presenting basic ideological insults ("We regard Yugoslavia as a revisionist capitalist nation"), Alia continued in a tone which was by no means kind, yet relatively matter-of-fact, using sound arguments. He stressed the "oppression" of Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro. Kosovo must gain the status of a Yugoslav republic, he stated. At the same time,

however, he pointed out Albania's intention to continue to maintain relationships with Yugoslavia, especially in the area of economics. Yugoslavia remains Albania's most important partner in trade, which totals \$130 million annually.

The increasing presence of Alia and Carcani seems to indicate that the Hoxha era is slowly coming to an end. With Hoxha's Albania it was difficult for the rest of the world to start a realistic and constructive dialog. The people in Tirana who wanted this dialog were removed ruthlessly and disappeared. The most recent purge late last year involved the former minister president Schehu, however. He would not have been a suitable partner for a constructive relationship with the outside world, whatever tactical-ideological maneuvers he displayed shortly before his obviously violent elimination. Approximately 20 members of his family and his political clan are presently awaiting trial in prison. As Schehu was eliminated as a political successor to Hoxha, Albania's pathway to a normalization of relations with the outside world has probably been shortened.

It is true that Hoxha and the system he created still exist, and for the time being one cannot discern more than improvements in atmosphere. Even after the definite removal of Hoxha, serious changes will require time. The direction, however, can be seen now: The country may open to the West rather than return to the East bloc sphere.

In this connection the issue of relationships with the FRG should also be resolved in due time. The trade volume with the FRG is presently at DM 100 million (German exports to Albania are worth some 80 million, and German imports are worth some 20 million).

Several weeks ago Bonn permitted Albania to have its national ballet tour various cities in the FRG to present a folklore program. This was a mutual concession with equal give and take, because the FRG practically has no opportunities to give cultural presentations in Albania. The Germans therefore hoped that Albania might be encouraged by this friendly attitude to reactivate the talks concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations, which had come to a standstill.

Albania claims that it has long abandoned its claim for damages for the events of World War II as a precondition for these talks and is prepared to establish relations; however, it wishes to discuss "open issues" with Bonn. According to sources in Tirana, no answer has been received to date. According to Bonn, Albania is in error, however: The German answer, including the answer to this variant, is a positive 'No.' Bonn states that the FRG is not prepared, either prior to or after establishing relations, to discuss "open issues" with Albania, because no such open issues exist, and none dating back to World War II, in particular. According to Bonn, the London debt agreement is definitely applicable in this respect, and Bonn sees no reason to make an exception for Tirana, because Albania was, for the most part, engaged in a civil war during World War II. It is considered safe to assume the following German viewpoint: If Tirana, however, desires relations with the FRG and subsequently economic cooperation without reference to the past, then Albania is expected to find open doors, even though Albania's constitution forbids the country to take up loans. German banks tend to believe, however, that there would be ways suitable to circumvent this clause.

ALBANIA

PAST DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT BY USSR RECALLED

AU291536 Moscow in Albanian to Albania 1430 GMT 29 Jul 83

[Commentary by Aleksandr Nikolayev]

[Text] The Paris Peace Conference was convened to examine the draft peace treaties to be concluded between the states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition that won World War II, on the one hand, and Germany's former allies in Europe, on the other. However, on the day that the conference convened, Albania's representative was not among the participants, although it was one of the first victims of fascist aggression in Europe. Its participation in the conference was hindered by the United States and Britain, proceeding from their negative attitude to the Albanian people's democratic state. The Soviet Union rose in defense of the legitimate rights of Albania. Immediately after the opening of the aforementioned forum, the Soviet delegation resolutely demanded Albania's admission. In its determination and loyalty to the cause of the freedom-loving peoples--the Soviet representative in Paris declared--the Albanian people, although small in numbers, wrote glorious pages in the history of the heroic struggle and victory over the common enemy. As a result of the determined position of the Soviet Union, which was also supported by the delegations of some other countries, Albania took part in the Paris Peace Conference.

However, the representatives of the imperialist powers did not relinquish their efforts to discriminate against the new people's and democratic state by raising a number of absurd accusations against it. The Soviet Union gave them the answer they deserved. The Soviet representative declared: We have admitted Albania to our conference by unanimous decision, not as a former enemy country but precisely as one among those countries which helped the allies in the war against Germany. As we hereby greet the representative of the new democratic Albania, which fought on our side against fascist Germany and Italy and contributed to our victory over the enemy. The Soviet delegation considers this to be the only correct and friendly attitude toward present-day democratic Albania.

During the discussions on the peace treaty with Italy, the British representative strove to find support for a proposal denying Albania the right to receive compensation from Italy. Again, the Soviet Union resolutely supported Albania. Regardless of the efforts made by Britain and the United States to discriminate against Albania, in the end Albania won the right to have a worthy place in the peace treaty with Italy and to be given compensation. Thus, the Soviet Union once again showed its unchanged support for the just cause of the Albanian people.

CSO: 2100/61

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

FRENCH EMBASSY RECEPTION--Marcel Martin, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of France to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, tonight gave a reception in the embassy on the occasion of France's national holiday. The reception was attended by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Bardyl Golemi, deputy minister of education and culture, and others. Heads and officials of diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania were also present. [Text] [AU171523 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 14 Jul 83 AU]

VETERANS COMMITTEE MEETING--The Presidium of the Albanian War Veterans Committee held a meeting in Tirana this morning. Sulejman Baholli, secretary general of this committee, spoke about the veterans' tasks to further improve their work for the patriotic and revolutionary education of the masses, especially that of the younger generation. This meeting also pointed out the major orientations of the veterans' activity in writing the history of the war and postwar period, and in further supplying museums with new documents. On the basis of the statute, the Presidium decided that it would convene the Fourth National Conference of the Albanian War Veterans Committee on 16 September 1983. The district conferences will be held between 15 July to 15 August. [Summary] [AU101456 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Jul 83 AU]

LEADERS AT EXHIBITION--The National Exhibition of Figurative Arts devoted to the 40th anniversary of the People's Army opened yesterday afternoon in Tirana. Servicemen, veterans, working people, representatives of cultural and artistic institutions, painters, sculptors, and others were present. The ceremony was also attended by AWP Central Committee Politburo members Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu and Hekuran Isai; Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of people's defense; Tefta Cami, minister of education and culture; Xhelil Gjoni, secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee; Dritero Agolli, chairman of the Union of Albanian Writers and Artists, and others. A speech was delivered on the occasion by Jace Lula, deputy minister of people's defense. Lenka Cuko cut the inauguration ribbon. [Summary] [AU101456 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 7 Jul 83 AU]

EGYPTIAN EMBASSY NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION--Tirana, July 24 (ATA)--On occasion of the National Day of Egypt, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania 'Abd Ahmad al-Maraghi gave a reception at the embassy seat last night. Present were the Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci, the Minister of Communications Luan Babameto, the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Sokrat Plaka, the chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries Jorgo Melica and other guests. Present were also heads and officials of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Text] [AU241529 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 24 Jul 83]

CSO: 2020/56

CATHOLIC LAYMEN COMMENT ON 'PIT'

Prague INFORMACE O CIRKVI (samizdat) in Czech No 11/82 pp 6-9

[INFORMACE O CIRKVI is an underground Catholic monthly. Names of editorial board and authors not given. Content: Presentation of the Catholic Church's side of the on-going Church-State struggle]

[Text] Pacem in Terris Association [PIT] and Catholic Laymen

Ever since the spring of 1982, the PIT association has been the subject of great attention and various discussions by state and church officials, especially after the Declaration of the Vatican Congregation for the Clergy. Since our state-controlled information media bring incomplete and slanted reporting on the declaration and subsequent negotiations, we will try to contribute to a more balanced view of PIT from the vantage point of Catholic laymen, as both believers and citizens.

We wish to explain the policies of PIT, insofar as they are known from facts available to the public. This is not a question of assessing individual members, their subjective motivations or their priestly activity, which in some cases may be better than one would expect from the general line of PIT as a whole.

Public pronouncements by PIT are many, for example, in KATOLICKE NOVINY [KN] (Catholic Gazette). In what follows, we refer several times to an unsigned article published by the KN in No 28 of 11 July 1982 which speaks in the name of PIT and includes a letter addressed to our ordinary.

The ideals of the Vatican Council and the heritage of Pope John XXIII, which PIT constantly refers to, are close to the hearts of Catholic laymen. They understand that Christians must go with the times and, in the spirit of the Gospel, contribute not only as individuals but also jointly to the resolution of social problems.

The laymen, however, have a difficult time understanding why secular involvement of Catholics in our country should be the exclusive province of certain priests, why these concentrate on the question of peace to the virtual exclusion of all other matters and efforts. If it is a question of preserving

the blessed gift of life--a phrase often used by the KN--why, in addition to war, not speak more of terrorism, unborn children or the suicide rate among the young? Why devote so much space to rhetoric and neglect practical action which would lead to cooperation with the laity?

Members of PIT are Catholic priests active in the CSSR church administration. Thus, they have their place and mission in the church and are, of course, part of the nation and its history, part of our society. How then does the work of PIT respond to the directives and requirements of the church hierarchy and to the hopes, needs and aspirations of the laity? How far does it go to satisfy the wishes of the state? How does it express the precepts of the Gospel and personal integrity?

For a believer it is startling to see how little the style of PIT peace pronouncements reflects traditional Christian thought. Controversial questions are handled with great self-assurance as if all errors were on the other side. Criticism of violence in the world is suspiciously selective and is directed only against certain countries and movements. Strong reprimands and simplistic advice are meted out to faraway statesmen and generals, while issues close to us and of concern to our civic responsibility are left unnoticed. At times, the language of the peace statements is also startling.

There are many speeches and articles where urgent phrases are used on behalf of peace and against war. It is strange, however, to see how little attention PIT devotes to the substance of the term "peace," even though appropriate church documents have often provided ample incentive on this subject. The laymen would especially expect that in the image of peace presented by PIT there would also be room for the church, for the believers, for children brought up as Christians who not only can sleep in security but also grow up to an adulthood anchored in faith.

The long and repetitious pronouncements issued by PIT are marked by a suspicious lack of originality, they bring nothing of their own, nothing specifically Christian. We would expect, for example, that when there are several variants in the peace campaign, PIT would emphasize those which are prompted by Christian ideals, i.e., rejection of armaments for reasons of conscience (see *Guadium et spec*, 79), nonparticipation of countries in blocs, etc.

Defenders of peace in the contemporary world, despite arguments on the final goal, often differ on the ways of achieving it. Some advocate total pacifism, others rely on the deterrent force of arms, some states strive for neutrality. To speak on the problems responsibly, requires certain specialized knowledge, much depends on information (state of the armed forces, exact language of the treaties, classified military data, etc.). It is, therefore, surprising to see the certainty with which PIT representatives repeatedly express themselves on concrete problems, individual steps in disarmament, etc., without citing precise arguments or information. At the same time, they can hardly claim in these pronouncements that they stem from either church teachings or their own professional knowledge.

The PIT peace declarations are always in full accord with the position of our information media at any given moment. This suggests that PIT advocates a sort of "geographic concept of truth," in other words that which is claimed by the CSSR and allied government representatives is correct, while that which is said in other countries is not.

In contrast, the Vatican Council says "nothing will promote peace effectively as long as people are divided and incited against each other. Therefore, it is absolutely essential to restore the education of hearts and minds, and to instill a new spirit in them. We must all change in our hearts, think of the whole world, and those tasks which we can accomplish jointly to ennoble our generation" (*Gaudium et spes*, 82).

Citizens who are believers have even a greater responsibility than others for the present and future of their country. Therefore, certain characteristics of the PIT pronouncements are startling from both the Christian and civic point of view.

One of these characteristics is simplistic and escapism from real problems. The ever repetitious arguments on behalf of peace really are a gesture of opening an open door. We read the speeches delivered at PIT meetings, letters to our government officials, articles addressed to KN readers, and wonder which of these addressees must only now be reminded of the need for peace.

Consequently, we cannot consider the peace "work" by PIT without embarrassment. At the same time, the laymen are getting the impression that the authors of such peace statements are more interested in approval from above than in the difficulties and problems of their fellow citizens and fellow Christians below. For the continuing theme of the PIT peace declarations is praise of the social, cultural and even religious conditions in our country. Here it seems that many closed doors are of no concern. It would appear that the authors are not even aware of what the true situation is really like. Perhaps it is because these priests are not really touched by the problems tormenting parents, educators and ordinary workers, in other words, laymen generally. The latter can hardly accept as believable those speeches or articles which ignore or even deny these everyday problems and concerns.

In its statements, PIT frequently claims civic involvement. In the opinion of the laymen, this to be real would have to be true of areas where it is difficult and most needed. This, however, would require knowledge of the problems, rather than a tendency to belittle them, especially those with which so many fellow citizens are afflicted. Uncritical, even cheap, praise of the state of affairs is not compatible with genuine concern. To deny through such praise the difficulties of others is un-Christian and demonstrates a lack of solidarity.

"The Letter to the Ordinary" attempts to legitimize the peace activity of PIT by citing Vatican Council and papal documents and encyclicals. The glaring fallacy of this procedure lies in the fact that these documents are addressed primarily to the laity. The fact that secular and political affairs are the business of the laymen and not the priests, have been a tenet long anchored

in the Catholic Church, deviation from which in historical experience has never served the church well. This is reflected in both *Lumen gentium* and *Gaudium et spes*.

The Declaration of the Congregation of the Clergy must be understood in this context. "Laymen expect their priests to provide light and spiritual support for their Christian endeavor on earth." The orientation of PIT is far removed from this concept. In their "Letter to the Ordinary" they say: "Members of our association, like all other priests, guide their believers toward fulfillment of their daily duties at work and in society." This is a remarkable admission which apparently fully reflects PIT policies, namely, to ignore in the pastoration of laymen all specifically Christian peace activity, be it directly or otherwise. We are convinced that every legitimate priest does much more for peace as part of his pastoral duties. We highly appreciate the fact that our faith and church tradition carry within them incentive and support to overcoming selfishness, bellicosity, pride, envy, etc., in relations among both individuals and nations. These are the effects of a living faith. What we need is to work in this spirit with a clear goal in mind and with the knowledge of local conditions and problems. This would demonstrate the real importance and merit of an indirect effort by priests on behalf of peace, a concept not favored by PIT.

The road to such endeavor is shown, for example, by the thought that peace is indivisible, i.e., not only peace among nations and states but also among individuals. Such a view is in the spirit of the *Pacem in Terris* encyclical and from it emanates a treasury of specific themes for pastoral work. Even in individual morality we can show that "peace" does not lie in ignoring conflicts, nor in escaping from them, but rather in an honest effort to resolve them. Sometimes it is necessary to live in conflict for a long time without losing faith in one's fellow man. Valuable in this respect are the traditional concepts of forgiveness and in how to treat or not to treat an "enemy." What is new is the recognition of the social aspect, i.e., a believer will sometimes resist evil out of solidarity with those who are weak and defenseless. All this in itself is a contribution to society, a direct endeavor on behalf of peace.

Propaganda and action promoting official atheism in the CSSR is a reality which it is impossible to overlook, and a factor on which even PIT should take a stand. As far as we know, it has never done so, at least not publicly. Its pronouncements sound as if there were no officially-supported atheism in this country.

We don't know whether PIT's silence on this subject stems from some well-thought-out concept within PIT, but there is evidence that it rather emanates from a clever plan of the atheists. This concept could be based on three items. First, atheist literature consistently iterates the thesis that religion in our time cannot provide the foundation for any progressive effort and that it has only one positive role to play, i.e., in the struggle for peace. Second, religion must be actively overcome and its influence curtailed. Third, we have the peculiar feature that in the CSSR religion has not been separated from the state, since priests are paid by it.

Thus, the efforts on behalf of peace are the only sphere of secular activity left for the Christians and the churches. Even this, however, is permitted only in a manner which would not help spread religion among the broad masses of the population. Finally, such activity can be better controlled among priests in the church administration than, for example, among volunteer lay activists.

The existence and work of PIT places the other priests who have not joined it, as well as the church hierarchy, in a strange situation. It is also not without direct consequences for the internal church position of the laity, since it supports a model in which the laymen do not play an active part. Especially after the Vatican Council meeting, this is startling and unacceptable to believers.

PIT has been given by the state organs a monopoly with respect to the KN and DUCHOVNI PASTYR (Spiritual Shepherd). The contents of these two publications do not meet the needs and interests of the laity. A long time ago, the KN abolished the children's section and there is little information and discussion on the life of laymen, even less on members of religious orders, priests outside the church administration, etc. This and other PIT activities bring about in our Catholic life barriers against full Catholic unity and legitimate plurality.

PIT often claims a positive influence on relations between state and church. We fail to see, however, where it is doing anything in the interest of our church or the laymen. There are no noticeable results. It is enough, for example, to compare the situation here with Catholics in the GDR with respect to the press, construction of new churches, work with the young, students and intelligentsia, work of the religious orders, participation of laymen in the life of the church in parishes and dioceses (including specialists on full-time contracts), training for the laity, church schools, hospitals, recreational facilities, etc. The fact that the GDR does not have a priests' association such as ours, is certainly not the cause of these differences, but this situation does provide food for thought.

The believers naturally cannot expect to receive state support without asking for it. However, the seriousness of the aspirations of rank-and-file Catholics for greater support by the state (new premises or at least some facilities in housing settlements, press, education, scope for the religious orders, training) is much harmed by uncritical and unquestioning praise of church conditions in this country. We remember hearing such praise from some of the spokesmen of a previous peace movement.

Believers cannot be indifferent to how Catholics as a whole are viewed in our society. The image should be that of a church true to its spiritual mission, with inner unity, plurality and integrity in its expression. When PT claims in public that it is acting "in the name of the believers," it is doing so without any church or civic credentials.

Historically, PIT marches in the footsteps of the former Peace Movement of Catholic Clergy (MHKD) of 1951-1968. The "Letter to the Ordinary" claims that

the relationship is close. For Catholic laymen, the MHKD represents largely a burden of the past. Shameful praise addressed to the state was issuing from MHKD representatives at a time when the Archbishop was in illegal internment, hundreds of priests and thousands of laymen were in prison, religious orders illegally stifled, church rituals disrupted, etc. Its admitted closeness to this burden of the past, significantly reduces the credibility of PIT's peace pronouncements, since it is neither sufficiently different from MHKD, nor has it publicly distanced itself from its predecessor.

What are the tasks and possibilities for Catholics in contemporary society in Czechoslovakia? The Vatican Council and other church documents only offer general directives whose substance and application is the responsibility of the local church. The orientation of PIT responds to this problem in a manner which is unacceptable and with which we cannot identify and still retain our integrity. The association has failed in this respect and its representatives unquestionably bear the burden of guilt.

9496

CSO: 2400/314

MINISTER CONDEMNS CORRUPTION IN HEALTH CARE SECTOR

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Emil Matejicek, Slovak Minister of Health, entitled "For an Unblemished Record of Health Care Workers"]

[Text] Socialist health care has experienced in its more than 30-year development a quantitative and qualitative cycle--from the unenviable beginning to the present level, characterized by an evenly distributed network of health care facilities with the necessary number of qualified workers. The present situation is such that even within the international concept of socialist health care it is considered the most humane, its results as extraordinary and in many respects as exemplary, and its future--because of existing guarantees in all respects--as fully secured.

During the initial years when we were establishing the foundations of the health care network, we successfully fought infectious diseases and concentrated on a major change as far as health care for young people, workers and people most susceptible to sickness are concerned. Gradually we were able to devote our attention to the solution of other problems in accordance with the needs of the population, the development of scientific knowledge and the level of new technology. In the health sector, we introduced more rational and efficient approaches in the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of diseases and the rehabilitation of patients. Increased attention is being paid to preventive measures within the framework of implementing all-societal programs of the struggle against epidemic diseases. In this respect, it is necessary to point to the intensification of efforts to identify in time stages of cardiovascular and oncological diseases. We have improved the quality of health care for our younger generation and improved services offered to the old and those who have been ill for a long time. Our infant mortality declined to the lowest level in history. The percentage of insured worker disability claims on account of illness and accidents has been favorable. We are witnessing successful research and development results in health care and the pharmaceutical industry.

The results achieved have their roots in the principles and functions of socialist health care. We kept them before us and they guided us from the very beginning. And they continue to be a permanent and natural feature now and will continue to be so in the future. I am primarily talking about the

principle of guaranteeing general health care services to all our citizens, to secure a high scientific level in delivering health care, and about the participation of the broadest strata in the active protection of one's health and that of one's family and society. The centralized health care sector is primarily characterized by free health care, a fact which gradually establishes the elements of a communist society in one of the most basic sectors of the existence and self-realization of man. This principle, realized to such a broad extent, cannot be seen anywhere else in the world, except in the Soviet Union. This fact brings pride not only to our health care system but is also a major characteristic and advantage of life in a socialist society.

In spite of its revolutionary significance, this fact is not always or consistently appreciated. Many of our citizens who have had a chance to briefly visit a foreign country or have access to incomplete statistics and are using subjective views compare only the glitter of foreign metropolises and the most secure strata of capitalist society without trying to dig deeper to understand the social conditions of life of the vast masses in these countries. If they were to do so they would also see millions of unemployed people and those lacking coverage, poverty in the periphery of the cities, illiteracy and many other ills and shortcomings. In health care, they would see sharp differences in the scope and quality of care and the high cost of treating serious diseases which for all practical purposes makes it impossible for many working people or unemployed to get this type of health care.

Similar information sometimes distorts the criteria concerning the level of health care even among our citizens. There is an impression that cost-free health care makes the latter inferior and that only in those instances where a citizen offers a gift can he secure a favor from pertinent health workers and be given adequate attention, quality service and the expected results. Obviously, these are remnants from bourgeois society and morality which actively distort the principles of socialist morality. We were able to build a socialist fatherland, rebuild entire cities, housing developments, transform our way of life and culture, but in spite of everything, we have been unable to eradicate in many cases certain survivals of the past. We often find cases, especially in the service sector, of tips, favors, gifts, bribes, etc. Unfortunately, this disease has also afflicted the health care sector. Here, too, there exists a remnant of this past which tries to suffocate everything healthy and noble.

Within the health care sector, we have fought these abuses from the very beginning. We have established, among other things, very concrete principles governing the relationship between health workers and the general public. As early as 1975 we issued the "Measures to Eliminate the Negative Phenomenon of Bribes in the Health Care Sector" which included long-range tasks with permanent validity. These measures are systematically updated in the spirit of the party and government resolutions, especially by including the action plan contained in the documents adopted at the 15th CPCZ Central Committee Plenum entitled "Further Improvement of the Level and Effectiveness of the Political-Educational and Ideological Work in the Basic Technical Training of Health Workers during the Seventh 5-Year Plan." These measures have been

included in all educational documents in the intermediary health care schools, the Physicians' and Pharmacutists' Institute, the Institute for Post-Graduate Training of Intermediate Health Care Workers and the educational centers of the institutes.

In spite of the fact that the training of health care workers and educational activity of the Ministry of Health received the necessary attention, some personnel did not respond to our effort. This fact was also confirmed in the resolutions of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee of February 1980 which dealt with bribes and corruption in selected health care organizations. The results of this check were discussed by the leadership of the Ministry of Health and on the basis of an analysis we published the "Complex Measures for the Struggle Against Antisocial Activity within the Jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health" in February 1981. These findings were circulated to all health care organizations which applied them to their own conditions.

The Complex Measures are aimed especially at the following areas of the struggle against antisocial activity:

- to strengthen ideological-educational influence aiming at the formation of a moral profile of a socialist health care worker;
- to make the educational influence more effective as far as the general public is concerned;
- to systematically improve medical-preventive care;
- to improve the effectiveness of control.

The process of educating workers is the everyday essence of activity of political, economic and social workplaces of all health care organizations. True, we must admit that in the presence of formal (but also informal and matter-of-fact) operations we are not succeeding in the health care sector in eliminating all relics of the past and defects. Offenses are also committed by those health care workers whose behavior should be exemplary because of the cleanness of their uniforms, their hands and especially their reputation. When discussing complaints and suggestions in the establishments under the jurisdiction of the Slovak Ministry of Health last year, it was necessary to consider the types of the most serious complaints, namely, the incorrect work and procedure of health care workers. In all, there were 440 cases in this category, of which 43 involved the taking of bribes. Of this number, 24 were discovered following anonymous complaints from both the health care sector and the general public. On one hand, there was much talk and insinuations but, on the other hand, there were no accusers and concrete evidence and facts. Thus, in most cases the solution followed the classic case of "no accuser, no case." In every case, however, this is an undesirable situation because rumors do not help either the health care sector or society. Only in documented cases can redress be quickly secured.

In our health care sector, we certainly do not tolerate gross and concretely proven misdemeanors. This is attested by the fact that last year the health care organizations took disciplinary measures against responsible people in 362 cases through organizational measures, sanctions based on the Labor Code, reduction of elimination of premiums and bonuses, or other steps. In 3 cases

the persons involved were dismissed from their jobs, in 2 cases the physicians involved lost their licenses, and in 17 cases, final disposition will be made by courts.

Recently, in the health care sector we have been reemphasizing the need to fight violations of socialist legality and socialist morality. At numerous aktivs we presented and organizationally worked out government measures dealing with the problems of unjustified enrichment and other violations of socialist legality. We want to have our health care sector clean and free from all undesirable characteristics and survivals of the past and especially of defects which run counter to the ethics of a socialist health worker. A resolute attitude in this respect is also justified by the fact that in recent years the needs of the health care sector have been secured by relatively sufficient numbers of qualified workers and the necessary losses of bad workers can only improve the sector's reputation.

In our struggle for an unblemished health sector, we cannot fully succeed without the cooperation of the other side--I should say, our main partner which is our public, our fellow citizens, our patients. There are always two actors at the scene: a citizen who makes an offer or promise and does not think straight and a person who is on the take. Citizens are forgetting the basic principle of socialist health care, namely, the fact that our health services are free and that it is the duty of our health sector to render these services and provide care of the highest quality. Citizens who ignore these principles and try to achieve subjective advantage by using incorrect methods, namely, by making offers and promises to health care workers, violate the law. It is necessary to consider both sides as acting antisocially and as guilty.

Let us join all our forces in a common goal--to achieve a worthy socialist health care sector at all its centers and among all its workers. Our goal is to make it possible for all our health care workers to have clean hands and to shake the clean hands of those who depend on their services and who will receive such services whenever needed without inappropriate attempts and endeavors. Let each of us begin with his own person and let us support the correct attitudes of others.

1277

CSO: 2400/372

JENA GROUP FOR UNENCUMBERED EMIGRATION DISCUSSED

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG IN German 19 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Helmut Loelhoffel, editor, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: "The Mute Circle of Jena--GDR Citizens, Wishing To Leave Their Country, Irritate the Regime With Their New Form of Demonstrating"]

[Text] The state security authorities in the Thuringian city of Jena are not getting any rest. Now they have to cope with a kind of citizens' protest which they do not know what to do about as yet. The people who for some weeks now have congregated in the central Square of the Cosmonauts at 0900 hours every Saturday morning to form a mute circle for an hour are not doing anything illegal. They do not carry any posters, do not shout in unison and do not engage in anything else that might be subject to official permission. They simply stand there, for anyone to see. Only they themselves and some people in the know are aware of the meaning of their action: the common concern of the people forming a circle is their desire "to leave this country in which we feel we are not wanted," as has been pointed out in writing. They have all applied for permission to leave the country, many have lost their jobs, a number of them are unemployed, and their children are discriminated against in school.

By GDR standards the action, in which from 20 to 60 people have been participating, is not only courageous but unusual. And so the majority of people hurrying across the square and lining up in front of stores or stands do not know what to do about the mute circle. They give a wide berth to the protestors who are being watched with suspicion by some gentlemen in civilian clothes, are being kept under surveillance by police in uniform stationed in side streets and are being photographed from the windows of surrounding buildings. Some photos have reached East Berlin and have been slipped there to Western journalists.

One of the photos, taken 9 July, shows about 40 people standing at the foot of the Zeiss Tower, which accommodates the university and has been named "penis Jenensis" by Jena university people. One week later the gathering was dispersed after a short time by the police without the use of force. The participants silently went home after having been told not to congregate any more. They plan to oppose any reprisals, they have said--if need be, by publishing their request in Western media, which is something that had at first wanted to avoid.

This circle has nothing to do with the Jena "Community of Peace" whose active members now live in West Berlin, and does not want to be confused with them. But when an attempt was made to strip the ecclesiastically affiliated peace groups in the GDR of their credibility by alleging that they were demonstrating against armament only to get to the West as quickly as possible, a number of people became indignant. Jena citizens wrote a letter to the bishop of Thuringia, Werner Leich, and the bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, Gottfried Forck, "protesting such defamatory utterances as strenuously as possible."

Those who gathered in this new kind of demonstration do not want to be suspected of hiding behind extraneous objectives and of acting against the armament race or for the protection of the environment. The only thing they want to show is that they want to leave the GDR. Without forming an association, they have gathered as a circle of friends to exchange experience and to assist one another. The shape of the circle formed in public is to provide mutual support. A number of those participating in the silent hour see themselves as the members of a kind of emergency association.

Many of them met on the stairs of the building of the Division of the Interior where those who want to inquire about the state of their application for leaving the country gather on Tuesdays. No one knows exactly how many there are of them in Jena, which has a population of 100,000. Estimates range from 500 to 2,000. What is generally known is that everywhere in the GDR, particularly in the large cities in the south, the number of applicants for permission to leave for the West has risen substantially. Though aware of this, the authorities process the application slowly and issue no information while doing so.

In a letter to the People's Chamber signed by 26 families and individuals the Jena circle made clear: "We do not agree to GDR citizens who have applied for being relieved of GDR citizenship being declared enemies of the state or treated as criminals solely because of their application." They therefore wanted to explain their motives in public "without violating legality." They declare that they are "no longer interested in the development of society in the GDR" and want to have the right "to leave this country legally."

8790

CSO: 2300/340

'CONTRADICTIONS' OF PENSION, SOCIAL BENEFIT SYSTEM CITED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 15 Jul 83 p 16

[Report by Istvan Tanacs: "To Each According to His Work"]

[Text] One after another, the private farmers who grow crops under plastic sheets came to Pityu Lakatos, asking him to come and work for them as a day laborer. He was also asked to come and work in the vineyard of the special cooperative. It was not hard work, he was told. Not to mention that he needed the money, because he liked to eat well and to sip three liters of wine a day. He also had a wife and four children, and it would behove him to support them somehow.

Working as a day laborer, however, is tiring. Admittedly, the farmers come to pick him up, sometimes in a car, and they also bring him home and pay good hourly wages. But in exchange they expect you to work. Pityu has the same problem with the special cooperative: they immediately raise a row if you are absent for a few days. Morning dreams nonetheless are the sweetest, and it would be a crime to get up early and go to hill grapevines or pick tomatoes. For similar reasons, Pityu does not like the noisy factories that smell of oil. He was pondering what to do so that he would not have to work and yet have some money, without coming into conflict with the law.

Some information he learned of by chance relieved him of the need to rack his brain further. He found out that if he joined the special cooperative as a member, instead of contracting to work there as a seasonal worker, he would not have to work regularly in joint farming and yet would immediately be eligible for certain benefits. He would have to pay 700 forints social security contribution a month, but this by no means ruinous gesture would entitle him to collect a family allowance of 2640 forints. Not a huge sum, but secure income, for which he would not have to lift a finger. It is a bargain that not even a fool could refuse, said Pityu Lakatos to himself. He is an ardent supporter of the new statutory regulation.

In 1982 there were in all 57 special cooperatives in Hungary, including 36 in the isolated farm country of Csongrad and Bacs-Kiskun Megyes. These farms --previously known as agricultural cooperative groups or as type I agricultural cooperatives--were formed primarily in regions with adverse farming conditions, where joint farming would have cost more to maintain than what even the state could afford. The special cooperative is a peculiar semiprivate scheme: legally the land is jointly owned, but each member farms his plot the best he can. This is a sort of organization that integrates small-scale farming but also has jointly farmed fields.

Until 1971, members of the special cooperatives did not have free medical care and paid the full price for medicine. Since then their rights have gradually approximated the rights of employees of state enterprises, or of cooperative members farming jointly. But this statement requires a slight detour.

Lipót Kotogány and his wife were private farmers until 1961. Since then they have been members of a special cooperative. The woman is all bitterness.

"Every loafer and chiseller has already received his pension. We are the only ones who are not getting one," she says. "If anyone ever worked hard all his life, we certainly did. Now here we are, old and sick. And not only are we not getting anything, but they are even demanding money from us."

"But why? There must be some reason."

"That is what the law says. These are its provisions, at our expense."

The competent official tries to explain this differentiation by saying that the state is unable to provide immediately full social benefits for everyone. There are, are there not, higher and lower forms of ownership. The higher the form of ownership under which a person works, the more benefits he gets. That is only natural. And since the special cooperative is a lower form of ownership than state ownership of cooperative joint ownership, its members are entitled to less benefits, and this is only natural, the official believes. But it is I who draws from this, somewhat hesitantly and with a question mark, the final conclusion: Who works under a lower form of ownership is a citizen of a lower order?

To reassure me, the official reviews the complicated statutory regulations intended to let the members of the special cooperatives feel increasingly that the state is taking care of them as well.

"Here is, for example, the special-cooperative or old-age pension. To qualify a person must have been a member for at least 3 years, must have paid a contribution of 120 forints a month, and must be past 70 in the case of men, or past 65 in the case of women. The amount of the pension increases by 100 forints a year. At present it is 1568 forints."

There is no answer to my question as to why the amount is so small and the age limit so high. But there is further explanation of the statutory regulations.

"The 'augmented pension' is higher by 150 forints than the current special-cooperative pension at any given time. To qualify, one has to be past 65 and 70 respectively, must have been a member of the special cooperative for at least 10 years, and must have paid a contribution of 150 forints a month."

Since the mid-1970's, the members of special cooperatives can accumulate years of coverage for pension eligibility even if they are not working in joint farming. For one year of coverage, men must present proof of 150 days worked; and women, of 100 days. A decree of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food specifies how many days can be credited per head of livestock or per what quantity of fruit. The produce and livestock must be marketed through the special cooperative. Everyone must declare in January how much of what produce he will deliver during the year to accumulate workdays that will enable him to qualify for a pension.

I tell the official what I heard from a farmer. Hail destroyed his peach crop. They had worked and spent in vain, SZTK [Trade Union Social Insurance Center] did not give them credit for that year.

"They did not deliver the crop, therefore they are not entitled to claim pension."

"Let them try to do this to the workers in Csepel or Disogyor! Tell them that their products have not been sold, therefore they are not entitled to either wages or retirement credit! They dare to do something like this only to us," fumed the farmer.

No comment, but the explanation of the regulations continues.

"For the years preceding 1948 it is possible to obtain retirement credit retroactively if two witnesses testify before the local council in writing that the person claiming retirement credit had worked somewhere prior to 1948 as a day laborer or annual farmhand. This provision is intended to compensate retroactively those whom the previous system had exploited. This has led to where perhaps more people are claiming retirement credit under this statutory regulation than the total number of farmhands there had been during the entire Horthy regime."

"In other words, from this point of view, who hired out as a day laborer or farmhand is more deserving than who toiled on his own 4 or 5 yokes?"

"If this were all there is to it! Many people are abusing this opportunity. Our statutory regulations directly favor the peasants. Nobody paid social security contribution for these real or alleged farmhands, yet they get their benefits."

"There had been no uproar up to now. Modification of the Social Security Law last December raised the ire of the elderly special-cooperative members."

"According to the new decree, it is now necessary to determine a member's income. If his annual income exceeds 36,000 forints, he must pay a social security contribution of 700 forints a month."

Is this not too much? The employees of state enterprises are taxed progressively. If their net income exceeds 7000 forints by as much as one forint, 770 forints is deducted from their pay. In the case of the members of special cooperatives, 700 forints is deducted from a gross income of 3000 forints per month."

"For workers in the state sector, the rest is paid by the employer."

"That is not much consolation for the members of special cooperatives. But why tax gross income?"

"Gross income is used as the basis also in levying income tax. Gross income is certain. There would be endless disputes if someone were to attempt to calculate his net income. To be eligible for pension, the contribution must be paid for 10 years. Men born after 1930, and women born after 1935 must accumulate credit for 20 years of service."

"The members obviously get credit for the years from 1971 on, because they have been paying a contribution of 120 forints a month since then."

"A year's credit cannot be claimed at a contribution of 120 forints per month. This is possible only in the case of the higher, 150-forint, monthly contribution."

"In other words, a man who was born in 1931, is now 52, has been a member of a special cooperative all along and has been paying the 120-forint contribution must now start all over again? He will be eligible for pension only at age 72, but only if up to then he pays in a total of 168,000 forints? The basis of his pension will not be more than 3000 forints a month, and he will get a pension of 2000 and some forints."

"Exactly."

"And the 17,280 forints he has paid in since 1971 at 120 forints a month is lost?"

"He will not get a pension on the basis of these contributions, but since 1971 he has been receiving free medical care. And he is also entitled to a burial allowance."

"Is there an option? Can someone continue paying 120 forints a month . . ."

"The new statutory regulation has raised that to 200 forints."

". . . 200 forints a month, for which he will get a special-cooperative members pension at the age of 65 or 70, or can he undertake to pay 700 forints in the hope of a somewhat higher pension?"

"No. If a person's income reaches 36,000 forints a year and he does not have enough years to his credit, he must pay 700 forints a month for 10 more years, even if he is 65 or 69."

"The existence of an entire stratum thus becomes uncertain."

"Our society does not let anyone starve. The council provides some assistance for a person who does not have pension and really is unable to support himself. Incidentally, these peasants could have acquired years of credit toward their pensions. Why did they not go to work in industry? Why did they not join agricultural cooperatives? Or why did they not redeem their years of credit with produce? Why did they not pay the higher contribution? The state can give pensions only to those who have paid in the amount from which the pensions are to be disbursed. It is true that they worked hard on the land, but they put aside the proceeds. Nothing flowed from that into society's joint treasury."

Now that we know the more important regulations, let us return to the Koto-ganys. It seems they do not deserve a pension. They did not take advantage of any of the many opportunities, nor did they put enough on society's table to expect society to help support them now.

"You mean to say that we did not give the country anything? And how about what they took away from us without compensation in the 1950's?" Mrs Kotogany clenched her fist, and the veins swelled on them. Her thin yellow teeth were flashing with anger.

"That harsh period lasted only a few years."

"And what about later? In the 1950's and 1960's they purchased our produce at such low prices that the difference between the subsequent prices and what was paid then would amply cover what social security the workers paid. Was that produce not consumed in this country? Or if it was exported, did not the people profit from it?"

"Why did you not join a regular agricultural cooperative?"

"They did not ask us where we wanted to belong. The soil here was poor, so an agricultural cooperative group was formed, and we had to join that."

"There is joint farming also within the special cooperative. Why did you not work in joint farming?"

"There is not enough work for everyone there. And then who would have supplied all the produce we grew on our small farm?"

"And why did you not pay the higher, 150-forint, social security contribution?"

"How was one to know in advance that the higher contribution would count as a full year toward eligibility for pension, and that the 120-forint contribution would not count for anything? They could have declared the higher contribution worthless just as well. It would have required only the stroke of a pen."

"Why did you not redeem workdays with produce?"

"At the time that was introduced there was strong emphasis on taxing small-scale farmers progressively. That tax, too, was levied on gross income. To accumulate workdays through redemption, you had to sell your produce to the special cooperative. But to get credit for a whole year, you had to deliver so much produce that you were already taxed progressively. There was no way to deduct your production costs. We saved where we could to avoid having to pay several thousand forints of income tax, having to work only for the tax collector, in the hope of a small pension in the future. We preferred to hold back production."

"That policy has also changed since then."

"We then felt that we were too old to start the ten years. We thought we would continue paying the 120 forints, for which we would get a pension when we were 65 and 70 respectively. Now instead we have to start anew: we would get a pension only 10 years from now, provided we pay 1400 forints a month until then. But if one of us becomes sick and is unable to pay, then the entire amount paid in will be lost."

"How much is your income?"

"We delivered 10 fattened hogs and were paid 4000 forints per head. We get between 18,000 and 20,000 forints a year for milk. [Text missing] . . . the net profit on hogs in only 700 to 800 forints per head, even if we grow a proportion of the feed ourselves. Tomatoes are the most profitable. But here again the cost of soil cultivation, fertilizer and plant protectants is about 8000 forints. Not to mention how much work is involved for the two of us to harvest and deliver the 10 tons of tomatoes. It would seem that we are rich because we get about 80,000 forints a year. But we are fortunate if our net income is 30,000 forints. Out of that, social security contributions take away 16,800 forints. I am not envious of anyone. What the previous regime sinned against the people, the present regime has rectified. But what this regime has taken away, nobody will ever give back," says the old man quietly. "I would not even care if only they would finally leave us alone."

The chairman of the special cooperative had this to say: "The new regulation is very detrimental to our founding members. The 700 forints a month entitles you not only to a pension, but also to maternity aid, child-care aid and a family allowance. This is advantageous for young couples, but for people in their fifties and sixties? Here, with a gross income of 36,000 forints, you could starve."

"How was Pityu Lakatos able to qualify? He does not have an income of 36,000 forints a year."

"We have to go by his own statement."

"And what if the Kotoganys declare that they do not have 36,000 forints of income?"

"They would be unable to do that. They deliver all their produce to the special cooperative. There is a record of every penny they get."

"The members of the special cooperative have not paid the right amount of social security contribution. How would you solve their pension problems?"

"I would say that anyone who has not yet reached retirement age, 55 for women and 60 for men, should pay the 700 forints a month. When they reach retirement age, they should get the minimal pension. Those who already are past retirement age should get this minimal pension immediately. Admittedly, we have not contributed much to the state's social security pocket, but we likewise have not taken much out of the state's subsidy pocket. You would get very peculiar figures if you were to compare how much social security contribution an agricultural cooperative of our size has paid the state, and how much it has received from the state in subsidies."

"Do you think that the proposal you just made is a realistic one?"

"By the time it could be realized, the age group in question would be unable to take advantage of it. For the time being, we are getting the same answer from everywhere: in the economy's present situation, there is no money for this."

If there is no money for this, then what is there money for? The chairman of a village council estimates that it would cost 2.4 million forints a year to

pay the minimal pension to every special-cooperative member within his territory who has reached retirement age.

A few villages further on, an agricultural cooperative--a higher form of ownership!--underwent reorganization just recently. A succession of incompetent managements ran it into bankruptcy. In the end, the members likewise did not work and even stole the fences around some of the storage buildings. Naturally, both members and management were entitled to pay during this period, and they also received credit toward their pensions. In the end the new management that undertook the reorganization received about 60 million forints from various sources. This was roughly the amount that the previous managements had squandered. With this amount it would have been possible to spare from an uncertain existence all the elderly members in three special-cooperative villages.

I asked the Kotoganys: "What will you do?"

"We are fenced in. We could go on working so long as we have the strength to work. But why bother? So that social security can take away what we earn?"

"Then what is the solution?"

"We will arrange things so that our income per person will not reach 36,000 forints. Then the social security contribution each of us has to pay will not be 700 but only 200 forints a month. We will not torture ourselves to no avail. We will give up growing tomatoes, sell the cow, . . ."

1014

CSO: 2500/366

DEFENSE MINISTRY CIVILIANS FORM TRADE UNION

Founding Group Meets

LD032037 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 3 Jul 83

[From the "Military Magazine" program]

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting has been held in Warsaw of the founding group of the national trade union in the Ministry of National Defense [MON]. The meeting was attended by representatives elected during consultations at the level of trade union organizations from military districts, various services, military repair and production enterprises and members of the social information and consultative commission of the MON for trade union affairs. Our reporter talked to Jerzy Mazur, chairman of the founding group.

[Begin recording] [Mazur] The main aim of the meeting of the founding group was to adopt a resolution on the setting up of a national trade union of civilian employees of the MON. We are a group of employees comprising all the professions that exist in the country: academics, lecturers, communication employees, all professional industrial branches with the exception of the mining industry.

[Reporter] One is to understand that you have prepared all the fundamental documents.

[Mazur] Yes, the fundamental documents have been approved by the plenary session of the founding group. We shall now forward them to the Council of State in order to obtain permission for early activity once the national trade union in our ministry is registered. On the second day of the session there was a meeting with the MON leadership. They took a favorable attitude and assured that at this stage of the union's formation they would make every effort to enable the founding group to function efficiently. The group, as a forum of provisional representation to the national congress, will deal with employee matters at the central level. A deep concern for the union to preserve full democracy in its activity runs through the issues raised by trade union members. Anxiety was expressed lest the various trade union groups that are stronger in number might dominate the weaker ones. A very important issue and one that was hotly discussed was the issue of membership contributions. There are fears that the overall representative body, the trade union administration,

might use all the money to maintain its trade union power. Issues connected with employee matters were raised with regard to the ministry, that is, pay, housing, a whole range of welfare and cultural issues.

[Reporter] When do you envisage the national congress?

[Mazur] According to preliminary assumptions we envisage the national congress to take place in October or November. However, the group has not worked out a detailed timetable since a number of problems have been submitted and the founding committee is to sort them out. A number of issues have to be agreed on with the ministerial authorities. Thus, we have a great deal of work to do before the national congress.

[Reporter] And, above all, you will await the endorsement by the Council of State.

[Mazur] Yes, certainly, this is an important moment; life dictates its own pace and one has to work. [end recording]

Interview With Officials

AU071605 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jerzy Mazur, chairman of the founding committee of the trade union of civilian employees in the armed forces, and with Brig Gen Jan Pulawski, the minister of national defense's plenipotentiary for the affairs of civilian employees in the armed forces, by Witold Smolarek, PAP reporter: "A Trade Union for Employees of the Armed Forces"; date and place not given]

[Text] In connection with the creation of a single trade union for employees in the armed forces, a PAP reporter has asked Herzy Mazur and Brig Gen Jan Pulawski to comment on this fact.

[Jerzy Mazur] The meeting of the founding committee of the national trade union active inside the Ministry of National Defense took place with the participation of representatives of military districts, military units, and military production and maintenance enterprises selected during conferences of the trade unions inside these bodies, and also with the participation of members of the Ministry of National Defense's Social Information and Advisory Commission for Trade Union Affairs. We adopted a resolution to form a single trade union for employees in the armed forces. As we know, the law says that civilian employees in the Ministry of National Defense may belong to it. Right now we are preparing documents, including the statute and the program.

According to the latest data, about 97 percent of trade union organizations inside workplaces, comprising almost 60 percent of all civilian employees in the armed forces, have applied to join the Ministry of National Defense Union.

When asked why civilian employees in the armed forces should associate themselves in a trade union falling under the scope of the Ministry of National Defense, J. Jazur explained:

This solution results from the specific nature of work in the armed forces, which involves guaranteeing the country's defense needs to the maximum while simultaneously taking workers' interests into consideration on a wide scale. In particular, a trade union inside the Ministry of National Defense results from the need to integrate civilian employees in one single community inside the ministry, (despite the existence of many professional branches). This is a basic condition necessary for the armed forces to perform the tasks they are meant to perform. It is also the result of the positive experience gained from the former Trade Union of Employees in the Armed Forces, which functioned almost 1 and 1/2 years. This union included almost 85 percent of civilian employees and guaranteed the full representation of their interests, while at the same time respecting the country's defense requirements.

While settling various problems with our military employer in a partnerlike way, we will try to maintain law and order inside military units and installations. Our ambition is to be the real spokesman of the interests of civilian employees in the armed forces.

We envisage a national congress of our union in the fourth quarter of this year. I would like to stress finally that the ministry's leadership is displaying a real partnerlike understanding of our affairs and far-reaching goodwill with regard to the problems of trade unionists in the armed forces.

[Brig Gen Jan Pulawski] As the minister of national defense's plenipotentiary for the affairs of civilian employees in the armed forces, I wish to assure you that the problems of the trade union movement in the armed forces are a subject of particular concern and interest for the armed forces' leadership. We respect the professional traditions of many years' standing shared by employees inside institutions belonging to the Polish People's Army, and we hope that the newly-created single trade union will display the same degree of concern for the interests of all trade groups, including metal workers, printing workers, and health service workers. We are convinced that we will find the trade union a partner in our responsible joint service for the armed forces and the country.

[Witold Smolarek] General, the law on trade unions nevertheless forces certain restrictions on the right of civilian employees to associate themselves in a trade union. What concrete groups of employees are affected?

[Pulawski] According to the law, those civilian employees in the Ministry of National Defense whose status is that of state employee do not have the right to associate. This is in accordance with the law on state employees. This rule also applies to employees in certain military units which have been singled out by the minister of national defense of their special nature.

I wish to stress that the ban on joining a trade union only applies to a small percentage of the civilians employed in the Ministry of National Defense. The interests of these groups are protected by a workers' representative body in the shape of workers' councils.

Finally, a reflection: We see efficiently working trade unions, and not only in the armed forces; as a great social and partnerlike force in solving

workers' interests. But we know that a union's quality and its energetic activity depend above all on the dedication and energy of its members and leadership bodies, and on their correct understanding for their own workers' interests and for the supreme goals. In our case, it is a question of collective service and work for the socialist fatherland.

CSO: 2600/1142

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF NEW GOVERNORS PUBLISHED

Siedlce Governor Kowalski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has accepted the resignation of Zdzislaw Zalobka and recalled him from the position of governor of Siedlce Voivodship. After consulting the Provincial People's Council in Siedlce, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Col [pilot, academy graduate] Janusz Kowalski to the position of Siedlce governor.

Colonel J. Kowalski was born in 1930 in Sulejowek, near Warsaw, to a white-collar family. He has served in the Polish People's Army since 1949. He completed officers' flight school, and subsequently graduated from the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army and the General Staff Academy of the Armed Forces of the USSR. He has held many responsible command positions in the military school system and in line with, i.a., air regiment commander and unit chief in the Air Forces Command. Beginning in 1978 he was deputy commander of the Training Branch of the Aviation and National Air Defense Forces in the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army. In addition, since 1981 he has been the National Defense Committee's plenipotentiary to Siedlce Voivodship. He is a member of the PZPR.

Zamosc Governor Wysocki

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jun 83 p 2

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers, after consulting the Provincial People's Council in Zamosc, has appointed Dr Marian Wysocki to the position of governor of Zamosc.

Marian Wysocki was born in 1938 in Tomaszow Lubelski to a working class family. He graduated from Warsaw Technical University with a master's degree in chemical engineering. He began his professional employment in 1962 in the Chemik Labor Cooperative in Warsaw. While employed, he took extension courses in the Main School of Planning and Statistics, where he earned a master's degree in economics and subsequently a Ph.D in economic sciences. From 1964 to 1968 he

was employed at the Passenger Car Factory [FSO] in Zeran, eventually as a department head, and from 1968 to 1970 was employed at the Main Office of the Investment Bank in Warsaw. From 1970 to 1976 he was a senior inspector in the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee. In 1976 he was appointed director of a Council of Ministers Planning Commission team for housing, construction and apartment furnishing policy. Prior to his appointment as Zamosc governor, Dr Wysocki was director of an investment and construction team of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission.

Legnica Governor Jelonek

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jun 83 p 5

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has accepted the resignation of Zdzislaw Barczewski, recalling him from the position of governor of Legnica Voivodship, and, after consulting the Provincial People's Council in Legnica, has appointed Ryszard Jelonek as Legnica governor.

Ryszard Jelonek was born in 1933 to a peasant family in Zawodz, Katowice Voivodship. He graduated from the Higher School of Economics in Poznan with a master's degree in economics. He began his professional employment in 1956 in the Voivodship Wholesale Food Products Enterprise in Brzeg as a senior official, later advancing to the position of section head and then deputy director. Beginning in 1960, he was director of the Construction Materials Industry Plants in Brzeg, which he left in 1964 to become vice director of the Paint and Varnish Factory in Wroclaw. From 1965 to 1970 he was director of the Wroclaw Trade Enterprises Association. From 1971 to 1972 he worked as deputy director for economic affairs of the Strip Mining Research-Design Center in Wroclaw. In 1972 he was appointed economic director of the Copper Mining and Metallurgy Combine in Lubin, a position which he occupied until 1978. From 1978 to 1981 he was a department vice director and then director in the Ministry of Metallurgy. In 1981 he returned to the Copper Mining and Metallurgy Combine in Lubin, where he was director of employee affairs.

Ryszard Jelonek is a member of the PZPR.

CSO: 2600/1167

CEAUSESCU VISIT TO ZAMBIA NOTED

Joint Declaration

AU262025 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Jul 83 p 2

[Joint Romanian-Zambian declaration on President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Zambia, signed in Lusaka on 21 July]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu paid an official friendship visit to the Republic of Zambia, at the invitation of Dr Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party [UNIP] and of the Republic of Zambia, between 20 and 22 July 1983.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu laid a wreath at the statue of liberty.

During his visit to the Republic of Zambia, the RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Elena Ceausescu, and the Romanian delegation toured industrial enterprises in Kafue, and other points of economic and historical interest in Lusaka.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were extended a warm reception throughout their visit, as an expression of the good relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Zambia and of the esteem and respect that the two peoples have for each other.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Kenneth David Kaunda held official talks on the current stage and future prospects of Romanian-Zambian relations and on international matters of common interest.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding, in keeping with the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties, countries, and peoples.

The talks were attended for Romania by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, member of the Political Executive Committee [PCE] of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister of the government, and Comrades Gheorghe Oprea, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister, Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee

and minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Pungan, member of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Silviu Curticeanu, member of the RCP Central Committee and head of the chancery section of the RCP Central Committee; Constantin Mitea, adviser to the RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Petre Tanasie, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Dumitru Nica, chargé d'affaires and interim of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Lusaka.

For Zambia the talks were attended by: Humphrey Mulemba, UNIP secretary general; Grey Zulu, member of the UNIP Central Committee; member of Parliament, and secretary of state for defense and security; R. C. Kamanga, member of UNIP Central Committee and chairman of the party political and legal committee; Fines N. Bulawayo, member of the party Central Committee in charge of the province of Lusaka; Alex J. Soko, member of the party Central Committee and administrative secretary of the UNIP; Lameck K.N. Goma, member of Parliament and minister of foreign affairs; Clement Mwanashiku, member of Parliament and minister of commerce, industry, and foreign trade; F. Chomba, state councilor, member of Parliament, and minister of home affairs; H. Meebelo, member of Parliament and minister of state for the National Commission for Development Planning [as published]; Wilted J. Phiri, special counselor to the president of the republic; Siteke G. Mwale, special counselor to the president of the republic; Francis Walusiku, assistant secretary of the cabinet; Gilbert R. Zimba, ambassador of the Republic of Zambia to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

I

Examining the current state of the Romanian-Zambian relations and the implementation of decisions adopted at previous meetings at summit level, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Kenneth David Kaunda expressed profound satisfaction with the continuous strengthening of the friendship, cooperation and solidarity between their parties, countries, and peoples.

They emphasized the decisive role of summit meetings for expanding and deepening bilateral cooperation in all areas.

They expressed their determination to further act to develop and intensify the Romanian-Zambian relations in political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural areas, as well as in all other sectors of mutual interest.

The two presidents reasserted Romania's and Zambia's support for the principles and provisions laid down in the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed on 17 April 1979 in Lusaka--a document of historic importance providing a sound basis for the relations between the two parties, countries, and peoples.

The RCP secretary general and the UNIP president stressed the particularly important role of the cooperation between the two parties for the general development of the Romanian-Zambian friendship and cooperation. They agreed that, on the basis of the cooperation protocol for 1982-83 between the RCP and UNIP signed in Bucharest in June 1982, the two sides should further promote their cooperation, exchanges of experience and consultations on bilateral and international issues.

[AU262024] They also emphasized the importance of cooperation among social, mass, and civic organizations of the two countries.

Highlighting the importance of developing economic relations as an essential factor for deepening the bilateral relations, the two leaders expressed the conviction that the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Zambia have the economic potential to achieve a higher level of economic cooperation in various areas, particularly in agriculture, industry, geology, and mining, and to intensify their commercial exchanges.

The Romanian and Zambian presidents emphasized the contribution made by the joint Romanian-Zambian intergovernmental commission for economic and technical cooperation to coordinating and promoting bilateral economic cooperation, and agree to initiate resolute measures to finalize the cooperation ventures envisaged in the documents of the commission.

During the visit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu to the Republic of Zambia, the following documents were signed with a view to further promoting bilateral economic relations.

--An aide-memoire on the discussions conducted between the Romanian and Zambian delegations on the occasion of the official friendship visit paid to the Republic of Zambia by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu over 20-22 July 1983;

--A convention between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the Republic of Zambia to avoid double taxation and prevent income and property tax evasion;

--An agreement between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Zambia on air transport between and beyond their territories.

The two leaders stressed the importance of mutual ties and exchanges in the areas of education, science, culture, and mass media forged by strengthening the friendship and understanding between the two peoples. They decided to further expand the Romanian-Zambian cooperation in those areas.

The two presidents expressed the conviction that a greater Romanian-Zambian cooperation in all areas will help along their national efforts toward socio-economic progress.

II

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Republic of Zambia examined the international political situation and noted that, since their previous meeting, the worrying developments that have occurred in the world have brought about a grave tension in international relations, thus threatening general peace and security.

They stressed that this negative course in international politics is due to the continuation of the policy of use and threat of force, of interference in the internal affairs of other states, and of redividing the world into spheres of influence, to the negation of the right to self-determination of peoples that are still under colonial and racial domination, to the perpetuation of conflicts in various parts of the world, the intensification of the arms race, and the deepening of the world economic crisis and of the gaps between rich and poor countries.

Expressing concern about these developments, the two leaders stressed that the peoples and progressive forces everywhere must resolutely act, in a close unity, to prevent the further deterioration of the international situation, to resume the policy of detente, to achieve disarmament and peace, to enforce respect for national sovereignty, and to promote an equal cooperation in international economic relations.

The two presidents forcefully reaffirmed the particular importance of strict respect for the principles of full equality, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, renunciation of the use and threat of force, settling all conflicts through political means, and observing the right of each nation to freely choose its path of socioeconomic development.

The two leaders expressed profound anxiety about the unprecedented scope and pace of the arms race and about the fact that enormous human, material, and financial resources are being spent for military purposes--a situation which constitutes a heavy burden for all the peoples and a permanent threat to international peace and security.

They reasserted their view that, given the particularly great international tension, the key problem for insuring peace, security, and international cooperation is the adoption of resolute decisions capable of bringing about efficient and substantial measures for general, primarily nuclear, disarmament. The two presidents agreed that resolute steps are required to defend the supreme right of the peoples to life, freedom and peace. The most urgent objective is to reach an agreement on banning the deployment of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Agreements should be concluded on prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons, halting the production of and gradually reducing nuclear stockpiles until their final elimination, cutting military spending, dismantling military bases and withdrawing all foreign troops from the territory of other states, establishing denuclearized zones and zones of peace in various parts of the world, and dismantling military blocs. Very important along this line would be to begin direct negotiations as soon as possible between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states, with a view to concluding an agreement on freezing military spending and negotiating reductions.

[AU262027] The two presidents expressed the belief that substantial disarmament measures would free considerable resources that could be used for the socioeconomic development of the respective countries. Such measures would also permit greater aid to promote the more rapid progress of the developing countries.

The two presidents expressed profound anxiety about the dangers inherent in the stockpiling of enormous military forces and arsenals, primarily nuclear, in Europe. They spoke out for united and effective actions to halt the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles, cut back and remove the existing ones, to eliminate all nuclear weapons, and to turn Europe into a continent of peace, security, and cooperation, where the sociopolitical system of each country should be respected. That can have a positive impact on the international political situation and permit the resumption of the policy of detente, and will facilitate political solutions to the problems currently affecting mankind. In this context, the two leaders hailed the agreement reached at the Madrid meeting, which paves the way for the convening in 1984 of a conference process of peace, security, detente, and cooperation in Europe.

The two presidents examined the situation in Africa. They praised the recent meeting in Addis Ababa of heads of state and government of the OAU member states. They expressed the conviction that the OAU will play an increasingly important role in achieving the objectives laid down in its charter, particularly in strengthening and consolidating African unity and solidarity, increasing the OAU's contribution to safeguarding peace and security in Africa and in the world, eradicating all forms of colonialism, imperialism, racism, and apartheid on the continent, and expanding economic cooperation among the African countries.

In view of the grave situation prevailing in southern Africa, the two presidents advocated the immediate and unconditional implementation of Resolution 435 of the Security Council and reasserted their resolute support for the Namibian people's right to self-determination, independence, and sovereignty. They expressed their militant solidarity with and complete support for the just struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence, led by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. The two leaders urged all the progressive forces in the world to extend all their moral, political, and material support to the Namibian people's liberation struggle led by SWAPO.

The two heads of state condemned the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination pursued by the South African regime, spoke out of its complete and urgent elimination, and reaffirmed their countries' support for the South African people's struggle to secure their right to freedom, equality, and social progress. They also condemned South Africa's aggression against and attempts to destabilize neighborly independent countries.

The two presidents called attention to the difficulties and increasing dangers created in the contemporary world by the lack of progress toward eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new world economic order. They spoke out for immediately removing the obstacles that prevent the beginning of global negotiations for that purpose at the United Nations.

The two leaders expressed concern about the deterioration of the world economic situation, which has a profoundly negative impact particularly on the developing countries, and requested international measures to improve this situation.

They expressed the view that in order to achieve that objective it is very important to expand the economic cooperation among the developing and non-aligned countries and to strengthen their unity and solidarity. They believe that it is urgently necessary to organize consultations among the developing countries with a view to working out a common strategy at the global negotiations with the developed countries on establishing a new world economic order that can help solve the problems of the developing countries.

They reaffirmed the fact that all the countries must focus their efforts on solutions combining short and long-term measures for changing the international economic system and basing it on new and equitable principles that can bring about new relations, based on equality, equity, and mutual advantage among all the nations.

The two presidents highlighted that the recent UNCTAD session in Belgrade failed to meet the legitimate expectations and requirements of the developing countries. Those countries endeavored to make the session contribute to a lasting recovery in the world economy, to eliminating obstacles from the path of socioeconomic progress of the developing countries, and to securing aid for their development efforts.

The two presidents expressed the belief that in order to improve the world economic situation, it is decisively important to promote extensive international cooperation and trade, to eliminate protectionist measures, to set raw materials prices that are profitable for the producers and fair to the consumers, to work out special aid programs for the developing countries in the areas of agriculture, industry, transport, and so forth, to insure a substantial transfer of modern technology toward those countries under advantageous conditions and to help them train national cadres, and to promote the development of economic cooperation among the developing countries.

[AU262028] The two sides stated that resolute and extensive measures are required to deal with the foreign debt of the developing countries, to agree on practical ways of cutting back and stabilizing interest rates at reasonable levels, and to secure the access of those countries to international credits under preferential conditions.

The Romanian and Zambian presidents expressed the view that great attention should be given to the worrying developments in the Middle East. They reaffirmed their complete solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people, led by the PLO--their sole legitimate representative--and expressed the belief that solving the Palestinian problem is of a fundamental importance for settling the situation in the area. The two presidents stressed that in order to establish a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in the Middle East, Israel must withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to independent statehood must be recognized, and the integrity, independence, and sovereignty of all the states in the area must be guaranteed.

Along this line, they recommended the convening of an international conference, under UN aegis and with the participation of all the interested parties,

including the PLO, as well as other states that can contribute to solving that problem.

The two heads of state stated that solving the Lebanese problem should have a positive influence on the general situation in the Middle East, and in that context, spoke out for the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from that country and for guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and peace of Lebanon.

The two presidents expressed anxiety about the continued war between Iran and Iraq which gravely harms the interests of those countries and peoples and threatens peace in the area and in the world. They stated that hostilities should be ceased without delay and that the problems between those two non-aligned countries should be settled peacefully.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Republic of Zambia reasserted their position in favor of the democratization of international life and of increasing the role of developing, nonaligned, small and medium-sized countries. They advocated strengthening and increasing the UN role in actively debating and peacefully solving international problems, and in safeguarding world peace and security.

Proceeding from the common interests and identical stands of the two countries on the major international issues, the two presidents decided to intensify their consultations and cooperation within the United Nations and other international bodies, the "Group of 77" and the Nonaligned Movement, with a view to increasing their countries' contribution to devising just and democratic solutions to mankind's current problems.

III

The RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the UNIP and of the Republic of Zambia expressed profound satisfaction with the fruitful results of their talks and of the agreements and decisions adopted during the visit. They expressed the conviction that they will contribute to deepening the relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the Republic of Zambia, in the interests of the Romanian and Zambian peoples, of the policy of peace, security, and national independence, of establishing a new world economic order, and of developing international cooperation.

Comrade Nicolas Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, invited Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the UNIP and of the Republic of Zambia and Mrs Betty Kaunda to pay an official friendship visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The invitation was accepted with pleasure; a date will be set through diplomatic channels.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general,
president of the Socialist Republic of
Romania

Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the
UNIP, president of the Republic of
Zambia

Toast at Lusaka Dinner

AU261624 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Jul 83 pp 1, 3

["Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu" at the 21 July official dinner given for him in Lusaka by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda]

[Text] Comrade president of the Republic of Zambia, esteemed comrade Betty Kaunda, comrades and friends, ladies and gentlemen: I want to express our pleasure to once again be visiting your beautiful country, and to once again convey to you warm greetings and best wishes from the RCP and the Romanian Government, State Council, and people. (applause)

I want to take this opportunity to express warmest thanks to the people of Lusaka for the warm reception they extended to us. As honorary citizen of Lusaka I want to warmly greet all its people and to convey to them warm wishes. (applause)

This is our third visit to Zambia. You too, comrade president, have been to Romania three times. It can be said that these mutual visits have contributed to greatly developing the friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples. Through the years, the cooperation between Romania and Zambia has developed in many areas: economic, political, cultural and scientific. Considering what we have achieved so far I think that all conditions exist for further expanding the relations between our parties and peoples in all areas.

As a matter of fact, our talks and the documents we signed today provide for intensifying our cooperation, to the benefit of both our peoples and on the basis of the principles of full equality and mutual advantage. We hope that the relations and cooperation between our parties and peoples will help build socialism and raise the well-being of our peoples. (applause)

Today we visited the two Zambian enterprises. We were impressed with the work and efforts of the Zambian workers to develop Zambia's industry and economy. I want to warmly congratulate the workers and personnel of the enterprises we visited, as well as the entire Zambian workers class and all Zambian people, and to wish them ever greater successes in their work. (loud applause)

Comrade, president, as you have been to Romania several times--and I hope you will come again in the near future--I will not now speak about my people's work. I only want to mention the fact that, despite the difficult political and economic conditions, we are consistently endeavoring to promote the socialist development and the general well-being of our people. (applause)

Our peoples and all peoples must have peace in order to be able to concentrate on their socioeconomic development. Unfortunately, the international situation has greatly deteriorated. There are attempts to maintain and even

redive the spheres of influence. There is brutal interference in the internal affairs of various states. The arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, has acquired an unprecedented scope, and we must act reasonably for peace, for national independence, and for mankind's existence itself.

However, in opposition to the policy of force and dictate, the nations are intensifying the struggle for a new and democratic policy and for new interstate relations based on the principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and renunciation of the use and threat of force.

The key problem of our era is disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, preventing a new world war--which would be a nuclear war--and insuring a lasting peace in the world. All peoples must unite their forces to halt the course toward catastrophe and secure people's vital right to existence, life, and peace! (loud applause)

Along this line, Romania gives special attention to the problem of halting the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe and removing and destroying the existing ones. In view of the current difficult circumstances, all states must act reasonably and put the interests of the peoples, of development and peace above everything else!

Romania hails with satisfaction the agreements reached at the Madrid Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe to conclude the meeting with positive results. This paves the way for convening a conference on disarmament and confidence-building in Europe at the beginning of 1984. Amid the current grave international circumstances we view this agreement as a ray of light that can bring about further positive results toward detente, disarmament and peace. (applause)

Romania resolutely advocates the establishment of areas free of nuclear arms and foreign military bases in the Balkans and in other areas of Europe and of other continents.

There are conflicts in the world that claim human lives and cause greater material damage every day. Romania has always been in favor of settling all these conflicts and solving all disputes solely through peaceful means and negotiations. [applause] However, lengthy and laborious negotiations may be, they are incomparably better than the most minor military conflict. Negotiations are the only alternative to war. All peoples are interested in resolute steps to eliminate military solutions to any interstate disputes.

[AU261638] Romania is resolutely in favor of solving the Middle East problems through peaceful negotiations. Israel must withdraw its troops from the Arab territories occupied during the 1967 War and must unconditionally withdraw from Lebanon. Negotiations should be opened--perhaps within the framework of an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO--to settle the Palestinian problem and to achieve a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. We believe that an independent Palestinian state should be established.

Romania has always granted great support to national liberation struggles. We actively support the struggle of the Namibian people and of the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO] for complete independence. We believe that it is necessary that South Africa end the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination and secure equal rights for all its citizens, regardless of race or color. Simultaneously, South Africa must cease its aggressive act against its neighbors.

We believe that the conflicts among various African states should be solved only through negotiations. Efforts must be made to strengthen the unity of the African countries. The OAU must play a more active role uniting those countries' efforts to consolidate their independence and promote their socio-economic development.

In view of the particular complexity of international problems, the accentuation of the world economic crisis, the steady deterioration of the situation of the developing countries, and the widening gaps between rich and poor countries, we believe that we must strengthen the solidarity of all the developing countries with a view to establishing a new world economic order, and must cooperate more actively to eliminate underdevelopment. The developed countries must grasp that they cannot solve the economic crisis and secure their future progress at the expense of the developing countries. At present there is a great interrelation among the various groups of states and each one of them can only progress simultaneously with the others. Consequently, the developed countries can only develop further and overcome the economic crisis only insofar as the developing countries also progress, and develop more rapidly.
(applause)

All the peoples and all the states, regardless of size or social system, especially the small and medium-sized, developing, and nonaligned countries, must actively and equally participate in solving these grave and complex problems. At the same time, the United Nations and other international bodies must play a more important role in solving these problems democratically and in keeping with the interests of all the nations.

In view of the forceful peace movement currently active on all the continents and of the peoples' increased awareness, we are convinced that, through united action, they will succeed in securing negotiated solutions, peace, a new world economic order, and respect for each nation's right to a free and independent development, without any foreign interference!

Comrade President, we agreed to cooperate more closely at both a bilateral and an international level, and to join our efforts to those of the other peoples who want freedom, a better life, and peace. That is why I believe that my visit and the documents we signed together will serve the interests of our peoples and of the cause of international cooperation and peace.

Please raise your glass to:

--The continuous strengthening of the friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the United Party of National Independence;

--To the friendship between Romania and Zambia and between the Romanian and
Zambian peoples;

--I wish the friendly Zambian people ever greater successes in their socio-
economic development and in building a socialist society!

--To the health of Comrade President Kaunda and of Comrade Betty Kaunda!

--To the health of the other comrades and friends, members of the leadership
of the Zambian party and state!

--To peace and cooperation throughout the world!

--To the health of all of you! (loud applause)

CSO: 2700/282

CEAUSESCU VISIT TO SOMALIA VIEWED

Joint Declaration

AU271325 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jul 83 p 2

[Romanian-Somali Joint Declaration on President Nicolae Ceausescu's 22-23 July visit to Somalia, issued on 23 July]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, paid an official friendship visit to the Somali Democratic Republic between 22 and 23 July 1983 at the invitation of Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, general secretary of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party [SRSP] and president of the Somali Democratic Republic.

The high ranking Romanian guests and the officials accompanying them on this visit to Somalia were extended a particularly cordial reception everywhere, which is an expression of close relations of cooperation between the two countries and of sentiments of esteem and respect mutually nurtured for each other by the friendly Romanian and Somali peoples.

During the visit, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, SRSP general secretary and president of the Somali Democratic Republic, held official talks during which the two heads of state briefed each other about current concerns of their countries in the socioeconomic field, examined the stage of bilateral ties, and exchanged detailed views on major topical issues of the international life.

The talks, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust, were attended, for Romania, by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister of the government, and by the following comrades: Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister of the government; Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Pungan, member of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Silviu Curticeanu, member of the RCP Central Committee and head of

the chancery section of the RCP Central Committee; Constantin Mitea, member of the RCP Central Committee and adviser to the RCP secretary general and president of the republic; and Petre Tanasie, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

For Somalia, the talks were attended by Mrs Siad Barre and the following comrades: Maj Gen Hussein Kulmie Afrah, member of the Political Bureau of the SRSP Central Committee, second vice president of the republic; Maj Gen Abdalla Mohamed Fadil, member of the SRSP Central Committee and minister of industry; Col Ahmed Mohamed Farrah, member of the SRSP Central Committee and minister of mineral and water development; Dr Abdurahman Jama Barre, member of the SRSP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Dr Mohamed Ali Nur, member of the SRSP Central Committee and minister of livestock, forestry and range; Osman Jama Ali, member of the SRSP Central Committee and minister of fisheries; (Ahmed Ashkir Botan), head of the SRSP Central Committee Secretariat; (Yusuf Ali Osman), member of the SRSP Central Committee and adviser to the minister of national planning; Mohamed Omar Jama, minister of commerce; (Hashi Abdala Farah, director general at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and (Abdel Gadir Hajir Mohamed), head of the mobilization and organization bureau of the SRSP Central Committee.

I

Examining the current stage of bilateral relations, the two heads of state express satisfaction for the continuous strengthening of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between their countries in all fields of mutual interest, in full accordance with the key interests of the Romanian and Somali peoples for free and independent development. In this respect, they pointed out the decisive importance of the summit dialogue and of the talks and agreement reached during meetings between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Mohamed Siad Barre, which gave new impetus to the Romanian-Somali relations. The two heads of state stress the particular importance and full topicality of the "Joint Declaration on Strengthening Friendship and Continuously Developing Cooperation Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Somali Democratic Republic" signed at the highest level on 18 June 1981 in Bucharest, a document which sanctions the principles of the cooperation between the two countries at the bilateral and international levels. The two sides express the desire to continue to maintain close links at all levels, in order to examine ways and means leading to the expansion and diversification of friendly ties between their countries and peoples.

Assessing that an important role in promoting the Romanian-Somali cooperation devolves on the ties of solidarity between the RCP and SRSP, the two party leaders reiterated the determination to continue to intensify contracts and exchanges of information and experience in these fields, with the conviction that they will increasingly contribute to better understanding and closeness between their countries and peoples. At the same time, they express the desire to expand contacts between the parliaments and youth, women, and trade union organizations in the two countries.

The presidents of Romania and Somalia reiterate the conviction that economic relations, particularly production sharing, is the decisive element of intensifying and deepening cooperation between the two countries and peoples. In this respect, they pointed out the great opportunities for promoting a mutually advantageous broad cooperation between the two countries, by setting up joint companies or other appropriate cooperation bodies in agriculture, mining, industrial development, constructions, transportation, and fishing. They decided that the state bodies of the two countries should take energetic action to accelerate the projects already started and to identify new bilateral economic projects and programs capable of giving dynamism, perspective, and durability to bilateral economic ties.

[AU271326] Following negotiations conducted in this respect, the two sides agreed that the second session of the Joint Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation should be convened in Mogadishu before the end of 1983, with a view to examining the implementation of decisions adopted at the summit level and recommending new measures to the governments of the two countries leading to an expansion and deepening of the Romanian-Somali economic cooperation and a substantial increase in trade exchanges between the two countries.

The two presidents stress the importance of ties between Romania and Somalia in the fields of technical, educational, and cultural cooperation and express the determination to further stimulate bilateral ties in these fields.

During the visit, Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Mohamed Siad Barre signed an Agreement of Cooperation between the RCP and SRSP and a Protocol on Developing Economic Cooperation and Intensifying Trade Exchanges Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Somali Democratic Republic. A program on implementing the cooperation agreement between the two parties was also signed.

II

Examining the topical issues of international life, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Somali Democratic Republic expressed profound concern over the serious tension in international relations as a result of: the policy of force and threat of force in interstate relations; the trend to consolidate zones and spheres of influence; interference in the domestic affairs of other states; the persistence of confrontations and wars in various parties of the world; the unprecedented scope of the arms race, particularly nuclear; and the lack of progress in the efforts to eliminate underdevelopment and establish a new international economic order.

As an outcome of these dangerous developments, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Mohamed Siad Barre pointed to the supreme duty of all peoples, leaders, and political and progressive forces everywhere to resolutely act in full unity to halt the current trend toward confrontation and war and to resume and consolidate the policy of peace, detente, independent development, and cooperation throughout the world.

The presidents of Romania and Somalia stress their conviction that peace, security, progress, and cooperation in the world can only be insured by

strictly basing relations between states and peoples on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs of other countries, nonuse of force and the threat of force, the political resolution of all differences between states through negotiations, and observance of the right of peoples to independently decide their destiny and socioeconomic development road.

III

After an exchange of views on the situation in Africa, the two presidents pointed out the ever more powerful desire of the peoples and countries of Africa to develop in freedom and independence, without any outside interference.

The two presidents examined the situation in the Horn of Africa and expressed concern over peace in that region, speaking out for a peaceful settlement of all contentious problems, in the interest of the free and independent development of the states in that region and to the benefit of peace and understanding throughout the continent.

The Socialist Republic of Romania and the Somali Democratic Republic emphasized the important role incumbent on the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in the struggle against the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy and against the policy of apartheid on the continent. In this respect, the two presidents positively assessed the efforts being made to further adapt the OAU program to current and future requirements of the African countries, particularly in stimulating broader economic cooperation between states, in order to consolidate their political independence through economic independence and to thus strengthen the solidarity and unity of African countries.

Referring to the situation in Namibia, the two presidents point out the imperative need to insure the undelayed access of that country to independence and to observe the Namibian people's right to independently decide their future development, in full accordance with their legitimate aspirations and interests. In this respect, the two sides firmly condemn the delaying tactics applied by the racist regime in South Africa concerning Namibia's independence; the two presidents stress the need to make steady efforts to proceed to adopting effective measures at the United Nations to implement the provisions of Resolution 435 of the Security Council concerning Namibia's independence. The heads of state of Romania and Somalia again reiterate their countries' full support for the just struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative.

The presidents of the two countries again point out the need to eliminate urgently and totally the policy of apartheid and racist discrimination in South Africa and to insure the rights of the majority of people in that country to freedom, equality and social progress. Firmly condemning the repeated aggressive actions of the Pretoria regime against neighboring independent African states, the two presidents demand that an end be put immediately and unconditionally to any violations of the sovereignty of these states as well as to the attempts to politically destabilize the countries in Southern Africa.

[AU271327] IV

The president of Romania and Somalia pointed out the very serious situation in Europe following the accumulation of huge military arsenals, particularly nuclear, on the continent. The two presidents advocate coordinated and efficient actions to halt the deployment and development of new intermediate-range missiles and remove all nuclear weapons from the continent, so as to insure that Europe remains an area of peace, security, and broad international cooperation.

The two heads of state welcome the agreement reached at the Madrid meeting, an agreement which opens up the road to convening in 1984 a conference on measures to increase trust, bring about disarmament, and develop the process of peace, security, detente, and cooperation in Europe.

The presidents of Romania and Somalia express the conviction that building security, intensifying cooperation, and adopting measures for disarmament in Europe, primarily nuclear, will have a positive impact upon maintaining and consolidating stability, security, and peace throughout the world.

V

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mohamed Siad Barre expressed profound concern over the serious situation in the Middle East and stressed the need to reach a global settlement and a just and lasting peace in that part of the world, on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state, and insuring the integrity and independence of all states in that area.

The heads of state of Romania and Somalia reiterate the full support of their countries for the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and assess that its participation in all peace efforts for the Middle East is an essential prerequisite for attaining a just and lasting solution in that area. Both presidents believe that the organization of an international conference, within the United Nations, with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO, can contribute to resolving the complicated problems of the Middle East.

The two presidents stress the need for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and for insuring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. Expressing concern with the continuation of the war between Iraq and Iran, a war which causes huge human losses and material damage, the presidents of Romania and Somalia speak out for an immediate end to military hostilities and for starting negotiations aimed at settling the problems between the two neighborly countries, in the interest of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples and to the benefit of the cause of peace and stability in that area and throughout the world.

Both presidents reiterate their countries' stand in favor of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and understanding, in accordance with resolutions adopted by the United Nations in this respect, in order to insure the

the security of countries in that area and in the interest of peace and security in that region and throughout the world.

VI

The heads of state of Romania and Somalia are convinced that, in the current stage, the key problem of contemporary life is the struggle to halt the arms race and attain disarmament, primarily nuclear. In this respect, they stressed the need to proceed without delay to banning all nuclear tests, halting the production of nuclear weapons, reducing and eliminating existing stockpiles, freezing and reducing military expenditures, troops, and armaments, dismantling foreign military bases, withdrawing troops stationed on foreign territories, simultaneously abolishing opposed military blocs, and creating nuclear-free zones in the Balkans, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and other parts of the world. Both sides assess that the means thus released following the measures to cut back on military expenditures must be used to solve socioeconomic problems in the countries proceeding with these cutbacks and to aid the developing countries in order to accelerate their socioeconomic progress.

The Socialist Republic of Romania and the Somali Democratic Republic express the common determination to take energetic action, along with other states, to attain disarmament, prevent war, and insure the supreme right of peoples to life, freedom, and peace.

VII

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Mohamed Siad Barre are convinced that the fate of world peace and security is closely connected with resolving development problems. Eliminating underdevelopment, gradually reducing gaps between poor and rich countries, and insuring conditions for the harmonious development of ties between states in the economic, financial, and scientific-technical fields are key prerequisites for world stability and for improving the international political climate.

[AU271330] Deeply worried over the aggravation of the world economic crisis which has particularly affected the developing countries, both presidents are determined to work resolutely to contribute to overcoming existing difficulties. The two heads of state stressed the fact that they are deeply concerned over trends to expand protectionism, continuously reduce the prices of raw materials, increase the burden of foreign debts, maintain unreasonably high interest rates on loans, and reduce aid programs; all these trends contribute to aggravating the difficulties facing the developing countries. In these circumstances, the two presidents believe that it is imperatively necessary that everything be done to redress the world economic situation, reduce the difficulties confronting the developing countries, and insure the world political and economic stability.

In this respect, both heads of state pointed out the need to intensify efforts to eliminate underdevelopment; establish a new international economic order which should benefit all states and insure the progress and prosperity of the developing countries; and build a more just and equitable world. The two

heads of state pointed out that negotiations conducted thus far at the international level, including the recent UNCTAD meeting in Belgrade, have not led to positive results or significant progress in this respect. In these circumstances, the two presidents advocate the speedy start of a round of global negotiations within the United Nations. The presidents of Romania and Somalia also speak out for the convening of a summit conference of the developing countries aimed at expanding economic cooperation between them as well as harmonizing their stands on future talks with the developed countries.

VIII

Proceeding from the conviction that the United Nations is the most appropriate forum for discussing and settling the great problems facing mankind, the two presidents speak out for increasing the role, responsibility, and efficiency of this world organization, democratizing its activity, and adapting it to the realities and requirements of the international life.

In view of the fact that the small, medium-sized, nonaligned, and developing countries make up the majority of nations in the world and are directly interested in promoting a policy of respect for national independence, peace, and cooperation in the world, the two heads of state stress the need to insure the participation of these states in discussing and resolving the major problems of the contemporary world.

The presidents of Romania and Somalia decided to intensify their cooperation at the international level, within the United Nations and its bodies, the "Group of 77," and the nonaligned movement, in order to increase their contribution to a just and democratic resolution of key problems of the international life and to promote peace, security, and cooperation throughout the world.

The presidents of the two countries expressed full satisfaction at the new Romanian-Somali summit, the talks held, and agreements reached; they are convinced that all this makes a new and valuable contribution to deepening ties of friendship and close cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Somali Democratic Republic, to the benefit of the friendly Romanian and Somali peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace, detente, development, independence, progress, and cooperation in the world.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu warmly thanked Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, SRSP general secretary and president of the Somali Democratic Republic, for the warm hospitality and reception extended to them throughout the visit and for the friendly sentiments they were met with in Somalia. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu invited Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre and Mrs Siad Barre to pay an official friendship visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania. The invitation was accepted with particular pleasure. The date of the visit will be established later, through diplomatic channels.

[Signed] Mogadishu, 23 July 1983.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary
general and president of the
Socialist Republic of Romania

Mohamed Siad Barre, SRSP general
secretary and president of the
Somali Democratic Republic

Toast at Mogadishu Dinner

AU271250 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jul 83 p 3

[Toast by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 22 July Mogadishu dinner given in his honor by Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre]

[Text] Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, general secretary of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party [SRSP] and president of the Somali Democratic Republic,

Esteemed Mrs Barre,

Ladies and gentlemen,

Comrades and friends,

To begin with, I would like to thank you for the hospitable and warm reception extended to us on arrival in Mogadishu.

I extend to you, Comrade President, the Somali party-state leadership, and the friendly Somali peoples warmest greetings and best wishes in my own behalf and on behalf of my wife and the Romanian delegation, government, party, and people.

Our visit to your country is an expression of relations of cooperation between our parties and peoples and a reply to the visit you paid to Romania 2 years ago.

Our countries have developed a number of mutually advantageous cooperation ventures. During the talks held today, we jointly agreed to expand our broad economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation, and to insure that this cooperation serves the programs of our parties and peoples for independent socioeconomic development and socialist construction.

I am fully convinced that the implementation of the agreements reached serves the interests of our peoples and the cause of international peace and cooperation.

Our peoples belong to the group of developing countries. We have to cover a long distance to insure a powerful socioeconomic development and the overall well-being of our peoples. We would like that our relations of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation should serve these goals and the well-being, independence, and happiness of our peoples.

In order to attain these targets, our peoples, like all peoples in the world, need peace. Very serious problems have emerged in international life. The arms race is being intensified and we also witness the continuous promotion of the policy of spheres of influence. There are many interferences in the

domestic affairs of other peoples. All this considerably complicates and aggravates the international situation.

The arms race continues to intensify. New armaments are being stockpiled, particularly nuclear ones, which endanger the existence of all nations and of life itself on our planet.

In these circumstances, the key problem of our age is to halt the arms race, proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear, and insure lasting peace on our planet. We must unite the forces of all peoples wishing to live in freedom and peace, in order to halt the trend toward catastrophe and destruction. Nuclear energy should be used for peaceful purposes, not for mankind's destruction! The nuclear powers should renounce the further production of new nuclear weapons. We must do everything possible to insure the triumph of reason and respect for peoples and life! There is no justification for the continuation of the arms race and for the production of new weapons capable of destroying mankind. The balance of power should be attained not through new armaments, but by reducing the existing ones to an ever lower level.

In this respect, we in Europe are most worried over the deployment this year of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles. This will substantially increase the danger of a nuclear war, which can lead to an overall catastrophe. Therefore, we believe that everything should be done to prevent the deployment of new missiles and proceed to withdrawing and destroying the existing ones. The attainment of cooperation and security as well as the reduction of nuclear arsenals in Europe are most important for all continents and the entire world. We would like Europe to play an active role in the world through its technology and equal cooperation with other continents for eliminating underdevelopment and promoting the progress of all mankind.

Romania firmly speaks out for creating nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and other parts of Europe, without foreign military bases. Such nuclear-free zones should be an integral part of the struggle to completely eliminate nuclear armaments, bring about nuclear and overall disarmament, and promote a world without arms, a world of peace and peaceful cooperation between all nations!

There are still many conflicts in today's world, conflicts that daily cause victims and great human and material losses. Romania has spoken out and continues to speak out for putting an end to all military negotiations alone. No matter how long and difficult such negotiations may be, they are much better than the slightest military conflict. In the worst case, the diplomats will have to work more and sleep less, but this is much better than bloodshed and victims, than human and material losses. The path of negotiations is the only rational way to serve the interests of each people and the overall interests of development and peace!

In this respect, Romania has firmly advocated and continues to advocate a negotiated solution of the Middle East problems. We believe that Israel should unconditionally withdraw from Lebanon; we believe that the Palestinian problem should be resolved, including through the creation of an independent Palestinian state, as a prerequisite for a global and lasting peace in the Middle East.

In the current circumstances, we consider it necessary to organize an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO, as sole representative of the Palestinian people. A lasting peace in the Middle East should lead to Israel's withdrawal from all the territories occupied in the 1967 War and to insuring the independence and security of all states in that area.

[AU271300] We believe that an end should be put to the conflict between Iraq and Iran and that the problems between the two states should be solved through negotiations. We believe that other contentious problems between various states should also be solved in the same spirit.

Concerning Africa's problems, I would like to state in this respect that our visit to Africa is an expression of Romania's solidarity and militant ties with the African peoples.

We have always granted and continue to grant active support to the struggle of African peoples against colonialism and for national independence. We actively support the struggle of the Namibian people and SWAPO for Namibia's independence.

We believe that it is high time for the Government and leading circles in South Africa to put an end to the racist and apartheid policy. Full equality for all citizens, regardless of race or color, should be insured in South Africa! Likewise, South Africa should put an end to the aggressive actions against its neighbors and establish relations based on equality, respect for national independence, and noninterference in domestic affairs of other states.

Concerning certain conflicts between various states in Africa, we believe that they should be resolved through negotiations, proceeding from respect for national independence and territorial integrity, and from noninterference in domestic affairs of other states. We believe that the problems between Somalia and Ethiopia can and must be resolved in this spirit. This is in accordance with the interests of both peoples, the cause of their socioeconomic development, the strengthening of their independence, and the unity of African countries.

We believe that the Organization of African Unity should act firmly to resolve all problems through negotiations, alone, with a view to also assisting the socioeconomic development of African countries.

We also advocate strengthening cooperation and solidarity between the developing countries. The serious economic problems facing the developing countries as well as the world economic crisis have led to the widening of the gaps between the rich and poor countries. The North-South talks to date have ended without results. Likewise, no significant results were attained at the Belgrade UNCTAD conference, due to the position adopted by the developing countries. Therefore, the developing countries should strengthen their solidarity and cooperation. Through negotiations, one should bring about the fact that the developed countries adopt a realistic position which takes into account the interests of the developing countries.

It is necessary to restructure the financial and credits system, substantially reduce interest rates, and adopt other financial measures. The developed countries should renounce their protectionist measures and one should set up an appropriate and equitable ratio between the prices of raw materials and industrial products.

There is an ever closer interdependence in the new international circumstances between the rich and developing countries. The current economic crisis can only be overcome through an equal and equitable cooperation between them. One should attain a new and better economic order, which takes into consideration the interests of all nations.

The complex problems of international life require the full participation of all states, particularly the small and medium-sized states and the developing and nonaligned countries, in resolving them.

The Organization of African Unity and other international bodies should play a more active role in the democratic resolution of international problems, in the interest of all nations.

Although the political and economic problems facing today's mankind are very complex, we are fully convinced that the peoples have the necessary power to change the trend of international events.

It is necessary to strengthen the solidarity and cooperation of all progressive and anti-imperialist forces and of all peoples wishing to live in freedom, independence and peace.

The powerful peace movement throughout today's world is a guarantee of the fact that we can and must insure peace and the vital right of peoples to existence, security and independence.

I would like to mention with great satisfaction that, during our talks conducted here, we noted identical or very close viewpoints on most of the problems discussed. We both stressed the need to observe each people's right to choose its own development system and road, without any foreign interference.

On this basis, I believe that our visit to Somali will mark an important point in developing comprehensive cooperation between our parties and peoples at the bilateral and international levels.

I would like to toast:

The prosperity, well-being, and independence of the friendly Somali people!
The friendship between our parties and peoples!
The health of the comrade president of Somalia and Mrs Barre!
The health of the other comrades of the Somali party-state leadership!
Peace and cooperation in the world!
The health of you all! [applause]

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END